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Edited by Milton Waldman



JOHN SMITH

THE GOLDEN HIND SERIES

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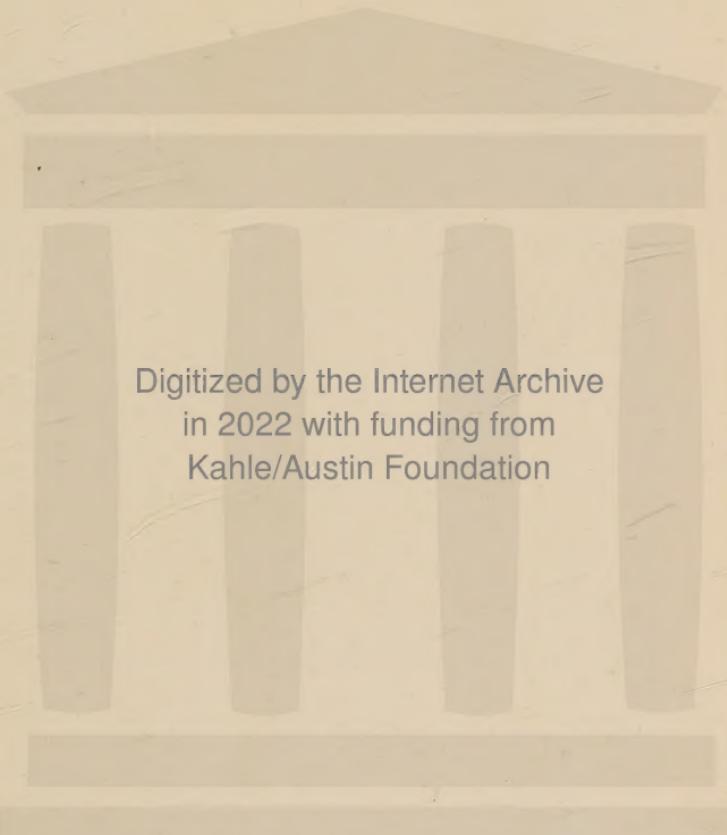
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These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee :
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within .

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

From the engraving by his contemporary Simon van der Pass

Captain John Smith

By

E. KEBLE CHATTERTON



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“ History is the memory of time, the life of the dead,
and the happiness of the living.”

JOHN SMITH.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION		I
II. THE AGE OF ADVENTURE		II
III. SMITH GOES ABROAD		23
IV. TRAVELS ACROSS EUROPE		35
V. IN SINGLE COMBAT		41
VI. THE WANDERING WARRIOR		53
VII. SLAVE OF SLAVES		64
VIII. THE COLONIAL IDEA		82
IX. THE VOYAGE OUT		97
X. THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN		111
XI. RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS		126
XII. ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION		149
XIII. EXPLORING VIRGINIA		161
XIV. PROBLEMS OF PIONEERING		174
XV. THE CORN SUPPLY		189
XVI. DANGERS AND ADVERSITIES		206
XVII. THE END OF ENDEAVOUR		220
XVIII. AT SEA AGAIN		234
XIX. SMITH COMES ASHORE		252
APPENDIX		270
BIBLIOGRAPHY		274
INDEX		279

ILLUSTRATIONS

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S COAT OF ARMS	<i>End paper</i>
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
SMITH'S METHOD OF SIGNALLING	<i>Facing page</i> 42
SMITH'S THREE SINGLE COMBATS	" " 50
SMITH IS RECEIVED BY THE GENERAL	" " 52
MAP OF OLD VIRGINIA	" " 182
MAP OF VIRGINIA	" " 188
MAP OF NEW ENGLAND	" " 240

NOTE.—“Smith's Method of Signalling,” “Smith's Three Single Combats,” and “Smith is received by the General” are from *The True Travels* (London, 1630). The Map of Old Virginia and the Map of New England are from *The Generall Historie* (London, 1624). The Map of Virginia is from *A True Relation* (London, 1608).

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION



If the individual is the child of his era, then assuredly John Smith was true Elizabethan. Notwithstanding that most of his life was spent during the reign of the Stuarts, yet his boyhood and youth were passed during those last glamorous days of the Tudor period.

It was a time, obviously, when those two wonderful words sea and exploration connoted far more romance than we with our great ships and recognized traffic lanes can ever appreciate : for the joy of adventuring through the dangerous unknown is reserved nowadays for the very few. John Smith was fortunate to have been born at that time when the Elizabethan effulgence was not yet dimmed but still increasing. At the Armada's arrival and defeat he was eight years old, a highly impressionable age when character is being moulded so definitely ; and it was impossible that the wave of emotion which swept through England at the time should have failed to reach him.

The sixteenth century was the age of adventure. It was bursting with the zeal to go forth and do something exciting, and from this wild eagerness a new attitude to life was created. Fishermen, no longer content to work merely within sight of the Devonshire and Cornish coasts, had been roused by the marvellous relations which had leaked out concerning Hispaniola and the other

West Indian territory. The stories of gold and of pearls, the chance of rising from poverty to riches simply by longer voyaging had come as an unsettling influence.

Thus ambition took the place of contentment, expansion was more attractive than dull routine : and all because the New World was calling loudly to men of vivid imagination and courageous spirit. But the whole of Europe had been shaken by a series of earthquakes that had one common cause. The Renaissance, the new learning, the fresh yearning, the insistence on national expression, the limiting of Papal power, the disturbing effect of the Reformation and changes in religion—all these were part of the one great movement which was going to transform thought and life. In place of the old, stolid, unquestioning regularity of existence had come a disposition of inquiry, a re-examination of first principles, an insistent demand to know how and whence and why.

Can we be surprised that with these influences at work John Smith should be born with the urge to adventure, to take a plunge into the thrills of living, and to emerge as soldier, sailor, pioneer, administrator ? His career naturally divides itself into three phases, but throughout there is always the *motif* of adventure. The first part we shall find to be concerned with those fierce affairs which only the youngest and most virile of men in the full confidence of inexperienced youth could enjoy or even survive ; yet they were the essential training wherein he could learn the lessons that should fit him for his own special work. The second part is a period of enterprising action, combined with the duties of administration ; but it is objective and constructive, rather than a revelling in danger for excitement's sake. The third phase is in sharp contrast with the first, and is marked by mental rather than physical effort. It is the

time for collating facts, gathering together past experiences, drawing therefrom the valuable conclusions. In a word, then, the warrior becomes a writer, the administrator an adviser, the pioneer a propagandist who is anxious that others may carry on the good work.

But before we enter into his career we must needs see something of the affairs which existed externally. What did the world mean to a youngster in the closing years of the sixteenth century as soon as he left the shores of England, and what were the conditions? In due sequence these will be alluded to in the proper chapters, but it may be convenient here to get a brief introduction forthwith, so that we may see matters as they were already waiting when Smith adventured into living.

The fifteenth century had begun an entirely new conception of the universe. For thirteen hundred years the study of geography had been practically dead. With the awakening zeal for knowledge there arose not merely the curiosity as to unexplored lands but a desire to find new routes to the old ones. Such exploits as those of Marco Polo had increased the information touching the Orient, but it was when ships became bigger and better rigged, and Italian navigators found their Mediterranean trade curtailed, that there was sufficient inducement to go further seaward into unknown oceans.

Discovery, whether in the laboratory or on the high seas, has been not like the short quick achievement of a wizard, but the gradual progression from partial to complete enlightenment. Thus in 1415 the furthest south reached was Cape Nun at the south-west extremity of Morocco. Eighteen years later Cape Bojador on the west coast of the Sahara was doubled by Gillianez, which so impressed the Pope Martin V that His Holiness bestowed on the King of Portugal all that might thereafter be discovered in Africa and India. During the ensuing years of that century we see how step by step

the discoverers were advancing towards the great Eastern goal. By 1444 the River Gambia was the furthest south, two years later the Cape Verde Islands had been visited, and at last in 1470 the Portuguese had in their voyages almost reached the equator. Sixteen years later still Bartholomew Diaz actually sailed so far south as to double the Cape of Good Hope without knowing it ; and then, as every one is aware, in 1497 Vasco da Gama also doubled that promontory and sailed up the Indian Ocean, finally reaching Calicut. Thus, after many long years, an ocean way to India had been found.

The first voyage of Columbus in 1492 across the Atlantic, in order to find a route to India, was more daring in every respect. Da Gama had come in at the end of others' efforts, relied on their data, and at the last stage of his journey had employed an Indian pilot. Columbus, on the other hand, was performing a great act of intellectual faith based on a theory which might or might not prove to be sound. And it was a not less glorious achievement as an example of physical courage. But when we consider that Smith was born so close to these historic accomplishments ; that the New World was first shown mapped only in 1500 ; that in 1520-2 Magellan was the first to encircle the world, and that Drake did not complete his circumnavigation of the globe until the year in which Smith first saw light, we begin to understand what a new and amazing series of events had happened : how inevitably they must react on those young enough to respond. He was thus born in due time, and his mind being set on adventure he must surely sooner or later go westward. Actually it came later, for the reasons which will manifest themselves.

Columbus having discovered the Bahamas, Cuba, Haiti and Dominica, it followed naturally that for many years the West Indies remained the undisputed sphere

of Spanish dominion. The desire to conquer pagan lands on behalf of Christianity, and to extract from colonization as much material wealth as possible, existed side by side and followed the revelation which Columbus had made ; the first settlement from Spain being in Haiti as the natives called the island, or Hispaniola as Columbus had named it. Now, by right of discovery, Spain claimed in the western world the whole of America (excepting the Brazils, which she conceded to the Portuguese) ; and, sanctioned by the Pope in a "Bull of Donation," this Spanish exclusiveness continued for a time unchallenged. It was because this restriction so annoyed the English ; and because the latter recognized that initial success had been won by superior knowledge of the maritime arts, that England began to encourage this essential seafaring training. Thus it was that Henry VIII established at Deptford - on - Thames, Kingston-on-Hull and Newcastle-on-Tyne early in the sixteenth century guilds for the instruction of potential navigators. Edward VI followed up the same idea and appointed Sebastian Cabot to be Grand Pilot of England.

There followed useful little manuals such as William Bourne's *A Regiment for the Sea : Conteyning most profitable Rules . . . most needful and necessary for al Seafaryng men*, which was printed in 1574, and taught the aspirant all about the compass, latitude and longitude, stars, moon and tides, "sea cardes" (*i.e.* charts, which were now beginning to be used instead of globes). And there were similar books on gunnery. But, if we would accompany Smith in his adventures, we must remember that between England and Spain there had been bound to be war at some date : at least for years there had been every element of future trouble.

The roots of this were deeply laid. As far back as 1385 the heiress of the last Count of Flanders had married the Duke of Burgundy, and in this way Flanders was

destined to become part of the dominions of Austria. Coming to the sixteenth century, the marriage of Joanna (daughter of Fernando and that Isabel under whose auspices Columbus had made his great discoveries) to Philip, who was heir to Flanders, Holland and Burgundy, resulted in the birth of a son who as Charles V became in 1516 by right of inheritance ruler of Spain, the Netherlands and the New World. Spain continued rising towards her climax in power and wealth, even if some of her best men were withdrawn either to the New World or to fight in the wars of Central Europe. But when Charles in 1556 abdicated in favour of his son Philip II, the latter as King of Spain did not inherit his father's empire though he did retain Flanders and Holland. And then, during Philip's reign, which was not ended until 1598, there was for him manifold trouble. In the first place the religious changes in England and the excommunication of Elizabeth made it difficult for any friendship to continue between him and her country. This was intensified when the Dutch rebelled against his rule and were given aid by the English Queen.

Secondly, all this exclusiveness across the Atlantic caused the deepest irritation among those in England who had awakened to the possibilities of sea enterprise and were longing to go forth with zeal in ships. Thus, when to religious hatred was added commercial jealousy, and, on top of this, sundry ardent adventurers of the type of Hawkins and Drake, ignoring all Spanish legalities, went bursting their way into the West Indian waters or lying in wait for Spanish treasure-fleets (especially off the Azores), it was certain that hostilities were much nearer than the ordinary course of events would bring about. Unable any longer to endure passively a continuous series of pin-pricks, Philip began to make slow but elaborate preparations for crushing England. After some delay the Armada came up the English Channel

in the summer of 1588, and with its defeat the climax of Spanish prosperity passed away, this second Philip himself ending his reign ten years later. It was during the time of Philip III that Smith visited Spain in the year 1604, and James I had already been on the English throne a year. There was in the latter's foreign policy a keen desire to make peace with Spain. On the other hand, we must remember that his people, having made money by sacking Spanish towns and plundering Spanish treasure-ships, were still disposed against peace.

Piracy continued for the reason that it was a means to wealth and there was a lack of organized naval opposition to this roving. Not merely in the North Sea, English Channel, off the coasts of Wales and Ireland, but in the Mediterranean, off the north-west shoulder of Africa, round about the Azores and Canaries existed areas where ships of French or English nationalities could cruise about, well-armed with guns, in the certain hope that their speculation would soon be rewarded by some vessel of inferior fighting strength. The sea was free-for-all. Let those who cared to take the risk obtain what they could : particularly from vessels bound for the Old World from the New. Therefore it was that no freighter or fishing vessel could ever go about her lawful occasions with security.

What inducement was there on the Continent at the time when John Smith was old enough to experiment as a soldier of fortune ? There were in Northern Europe two spheres where an Englishman would be welcomed as a fighter. In France Elizabeth had made a precedent when she sent, for political reasons, assistance to the Huguenots. These religious wars, which began in 1562 and lasted until 1595, had for certain of Elizabeth's subjects an attraction quite apart from adventure and any conscientious sympathy. Thus, when Henry of Navarre (that vacillating fellow who changed his faith

as frequently as some modern statesmen change their politics) was fighting the Holy League from 1589 to 1595, an Englishman felt he was doing quite the right thing if he fought on Henry's side, seeing that the League was in close alliance with Philip II of Spain. Unfortunately for Smith, peace came just too soon for his services to be of use.

But in the Netherlands, where a long struggle was still going on until 1609 against those of the Roman Catholic religion, there was an outlet for all this juvenile enthusiasm. Further south, as we shall presently see, there was additional opportunity in fighting against the infidel Turks. Not one of these three spheres, however, could have such a universal appeal for fiery youth as the attraction which the New World was holding out for planters. Patents began to be granted in order "to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian Prince or people." Companies were formed in England, ships chartered, bands of unsettled townsmen and villagers collected with a view to colonizing St. Christopher's, Barbados, the Bahamas, and even that North American mainland ; but away from Hispaniola which Spain had obtained through the enterprise of Columbus.

Whilst it is probably true that the perfect biography never has been and never will be possible, we can even at this distance of time obtain a just understanding of John Smith from a knowledge of what he did, how others reacted to his conduct, what he wrote concerning himself and his contemporaries, what the latter remarked about him. Perhaps few "lives" are more misleading than when autobiographical : for it is impossible that the writer, however hard he may try, could get the required perspective. Smith, in so far as he speaks of himself, is no exception to this rule ; yet he helps us to see the truth in part, and enables us to see events from his point

of view. In the following pages Smith's friends and enemies, his own varied situations and trials, his line of policy and behaviour assist us to create the whole picture out of the parts.

His character at the hands of critics has passed through the three stages of praise, condemnation and discriminating approval. If he has been at times unjustly lauded, he has had to suffer undue suspicion. If during his lifetime he made many enemies, yet some of his fellow soldiers, such as Ensign Thomas Carlton and Sergeant Edward Robinson, referred to him in verses unmistakably complimentary and even effusive. These expressions have a real value because they support and strengthen one aspect of Smith during that first part of his life. Thus, when Carlton, who was one of the few survivors after the Battle of Rothenthurm, eulogizes "my honest Captaine" as one free "from wine, tobacco, debts, dice, oaths"; or such Virginia colleagues as the brothers Michael and William Phettiplace, or Richard Wiffing, speak in admiration of John Smith, we can weigh their evidence against that of less favourable contemporaries.

As to his personal appearance, it will assist the imagination if reference is made to the portrait which appears in the well-known map of New England. Here he is represented at the age of 37 with moustache and rounded beard. Whatever else the likeness suggests, we have before us a face in keeping with a character that is strong, determined and restrained. The eyes are keen yet kindly, the forehead broad and intellectual; the glance direct, penetrating and observant. The general effect is stern, resolute but not intolerant. Whether, as was said of him, Smith was "Brasse without" but of "golde within"; whether he was, in the words of a modern distinguished, though violent, critic nothing better than "a quick-witted, unscrupulous and self-reliant man," let the facts and comments here offered in due order

speak for themselves. The art of writing history, like the art of painting a picture, can never in the strictest sense of the word be neutral ; but it can and must be interpretative. And, however Captain John Smith may appear in the light of modern study, at least his personality and position in history demand our close attention.



CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF ADVENTURE



VEN to attempt seeking a reason why in the past and present men willingly and eagerly forsake the security and comfort of the town or village for the unknown risks of seas, would be as useless as to wonder why some are born with the love of adventure, or the longing for excitement.

Still more surprising is the historical fact that in divers centuries and generations this attraction of shipping and travel has had such an irresistible power over certain individuals born not along the coast but inland away from all converse with sailors, all sight of ships and sound of waves. John Smith is one of those cases whose ancestry and upbringing afford no indication of future inclination : in his nostrils was the smell of the soil rather than of the sea. This is the record of one whose blood was north country but whose mind was that of a west-country man.

His father was descended from the Smiths of Crudley in Lancashire ; his mother was a Yorkshire woman, and he himself was born in Lincolnshire, at Willoughby. According to the parish register of Willoughby by Alford, "John the sonne of George Smyth was baptized the IXth daie of Ianuarye" 1579, or, as we should reckon it in these days, 1580. George Smith tenanted a farm from Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and in his will dated March 30, 1596, when "in bodie weake and paynde,"

he bequeathed "to ye Right Honorable my Lord Willoughbie under whome I have many yeares lived as his poore tennant as a token of my dewtifull good will the best of my two yeares old colts. Item I geve and bequeathe unto Alice my Wyfe ye ferme which I now dwell in which I houlde by coppie of Court rowle as ye grant of ye Right Honorable my foresaide good Lorde duringe her widdow hoode accordinge to ye custome of his Lordshippe manner of Willoughbie ; and if it shall please God that my saide Wyfe doe marry agayne and take a second husband, then my Will is that my saide ferme shall come to John Smyth my eldest sonne whome I chardge and command to honoure and love my foresaide good Lord Willoughbie during his lyfe."

It is obvious that George Smith or Smyth, who was buried on the following April 3, was also the owner of freehold property, for " I geve to John Smyth mine eldest sonne and to ye heires of his body lawfully begotten Seaven acres of pasture lyenge within ye territoare of Charleton Magne." George Smith bequeathed "two tenements and one Little Close in a certeyn Streete" in Louth to Francis, his younger son. The Smiths, then, were practically small country gentry and at one time had borne a coat of arms. John was educated at the Grammar Schools of Alford¹ and Louth, but we know from his own statement that "his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, [he] sould his Satchell, bookees, and all he had, intending secretly to get to Sea, but his fathers death stayed him." He had been left "a competent meanes, which hee not being capable to manage," he admits, "little regarded . . . But now the Guardians of his estate more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though no meanes, to get beyond the Sea."

¹ Alford lies S.E. of Louth, and Willoughby—still further south—is only about six miles from the sea.

But after his grammar-school education, young John Smith, now about sixteen, was apprenticed to Thomas Sendall at Lynn, who was "the greatest Merchant of all those parts." The opportunity would have suited the normal small-town boy, but not this Jack. He was hardly the kind who finds satisfaction in the safety of a steady job, or the least pleasure in a big employer's counting-house. The lad's object in remaining even a short time with Sendall was his own private secret ; because the Lynn merchant would not presently send Smith to sea, the latter cleared out, nor did they see each other again till the year 1604, by which time young Smith had passed through more amazing adventures than probably Sendall had ever heard of or imagined.

Few sea-bordering counties in England have so limited a number and such unattractive harbours as Lincolnshire. And yet when easterly winds blew across the flat lands from the cold North Sea they must have inspired in boyish minds at this period thoughts which do not usually come to farmers' sons. Only a dozen years before John Smith there had been born at South Carlton, Lincolnshire, that child who was to become Sir William Monson, another distinguished Captain and traveller, who in his celebrated *Naval Tracts* has left us such invaluable nautical literature. But when England's men were achieving such glorious feats in that eternally wondrous period, why should we marvel that even the younger generation were already afire to emulate their great examples ? The year in which John Smith was born was that in which Drake completed the world's circumnavigation — the first Englishman to do so. The year when Smith deserted a merchant's office to venture over the world was that in which Drake ended his experiences in the greatest of all adventures, death. In this same year Howard, Essex and Raleigh stormed Cadiz and destroyed fifty new Spanish galleons ; William Shakespeare was already

such a popular dramatist that pirate publishers found it profitable to use his name unscrupulously ; and Francis Bacon was just about to issue his famous *Essays*.

It was, indeed, a wonder age. Perhaps no twenty-five years in the story of English effort have been so interesting as that period from 1575 to 1600, or so historically fruitful, unless we think of the first quarter in our own twentieth century. The New World with the vast possibilities of the East Indies and the rich lands beyond the Atlantic had been merely acknowledged. All the fresh seas with their tides and winds and strange fish ; all the unexplored territories with their mountains and hidden wealth, savage peoples, wild animals and unsuspected plants were calling to men of imagination. Bacon referred to America as "the greatest birth of time," and when young Smith "to get beyond the Sea" turned his back on Sendall's business house, it was because there was too much going on outside and on a much vaster scale.

Smith's youth was spent in a period that like our own was iconoclastic, revolutionary. Europe was slumbering peacefully when the news of Columbus woke her with a start. It was the greatest shock which antiquity, hitherto so narrowly contained, had ever received, but it was also only the first of other disturbing concussions. Apart from the changes in religion, Smith's world was in process of other mighty transformations. The old chivalry had passed away, the days of the Crusaders were not referred to in Northern Europe, and with Lepanto the galley as a warship had more than reached its climax of utility. In art and literature and the advance of civilization Europe had made great progress. In England, if we were not yet very artistic, at least we were beginning to be comfortable and to appreciate the revived interest in the classics. The people of England still retained, as we know from the accounts of even rough

seafarers, a keen religious consciousness side by side with utter dissoluteness.

When George Smith died he bequeathed to his wife "a bedstead in ye first Chamber with a fetherbedd a coveringe a paire of lynnens sheets one blanckett a bowlster with pillow and pillow beare"; and to his daughter "a bedstead in the parler and a fetherbedd and coveringe and a blanckett a paire of lynnens sheets and a pare of hempen sheets with boulster pillow and pillow beares" together with "halfe of all my pewter and brasse." But if, as has been pointed out, English sixteenth-century people were known for their polished manners, and English daughters were as Erasmus said, "nymphs of divine beauty," yet domestic affection as between parent and child was not exceptionally strong. Marriage, owing to the feudal custom, had become largely a matter of financial discussion, and the freedom of consent was the least consideration. On the other hand, the relations between father and son, which may seem so strange to our modern youth on both sides of the Atlantic, were rather those of sovereign and subject, governor and governed.

Thus, his father being now dead, the sixteen-year-old John Smith, his mind "set upon brave adventures," began to enjoy that freedom which normally would not have been his for several years. The opportunity to get away came when he went with the young second son of Lord Willoughby across the Channel to Orleans, where Willoughby's other son was completing his education. After six weeks, however, young Smith was sent back home, though to return "was the least thought of his determination"; and he wished to have a look round Paris. Before leaving London he had obtained ten shillings of his own estate from his guardians "to be rid of him," and he had other money as well. It was whilst in the French capital that the well-known international

confidence-trick showed itself even in the sixteenth century. For Smith got acquainted with a Scotsman named David Hume who, in return for making use of Smith's money, gave him letters of introduction to Hume's friends in Scotland, who in turn would pass him on to the Court of King James at Edinburgh. But after he had arrived in Rouen, Smith, having practically no more money to spend, decided to carry on to Havre and join up as a soldier in the French army. But, peace coming, he transferred his soldiering to serve under Captain Joseph Duxbury, an English captain of free-lances. The latter's troop proceeded into the Low Countries and under Duxbury's colours the lad served from 1596 till 1600, fighting for the Dutch against their religious enemies.

At the age of sixteen and within one year John Smith had thus begun that life which was to become replete with so many adventures. In those days of difficult transportation it was no small achievement to have visited London, Orleans, Paris, Rouen, Havre, the Low Countries and to have been in both the French and Dutch armies. It was pure chance of circumstance that guided his energetic thoughts into land- rather than sea-faring : he was on the Continent, at a loose end and without funds. There was fighting to be done, it afforded an outlet for his restless spirit, and an opportunity for that active young body. He had begun to learn something about the art of war in a hard, practical school, and this knowledge was essential to one whose future life consisted in warring against powerful opposition of one sort or another.

The history of civilization is the record of travel, the chronicle of transport. It is only thus that geographical exploration and communication between countries has been obtained : the civilizer is therefore the traveller. It was this *Wanderlust* that made Smith from the very

first a potential colonizer : it was the foundation of all his career. Crossing between England and the European continent in those days was a matter not to be undertaken lightly. From Lord Herbert of Cherbury we have a realistic account of a passage made in 1609 from Dieppe to Dover when a gale sprang up and the ship was all night in the Channel, seemingly about to founder.

"The master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason. For not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought by the course of his [sand] glasses we were near approached. And now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover, rising betimes in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards. We coming thus in extreme danger straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it."

In like manner Smith, having concluded his four years' soldiering in the Low Countries, was to learn something of the sea's terrors. In his twenty-first year he started off in a ship from Enkhuizen, the North Holland port on the Zuyder Zee, bound for Leith ; but after crossing the North Sea the vessel was wrecked off the Northumberland coast at Holy Island where the shoals, the heavy scend at high water and a four-knot tide have always made St. Aidan's Lindisfarne a trap for seafarers. Smith was lucky to get ashore with his

life, but he fell ill and had to remain here some time.

His journey was presently continued into Scotland as he wished to present those letters of introduction which David Hume had given him. But here he found that Hume had played a trick, for "after much kinde usage amongst those honest Scots," Smith discovered they had "neither money nor meanes to make him a Courtier," and thus a dead-end had been reached. The possibility of employment in Edinburgh being out of the question, he now did the obvious thing and went south to his home village of Willoughby. His arrival among his old associates after four wandering years ; the return as a young man, who had knocked about Northern Europe and seen life, but when last seen was a mere lad, was like the coming back of the Prodigal Son. He was received with enthusiasm, he had interesting yarns to tell, he must be entertained with fitting hospitality.

But we get a real insight into his character and his future trend when we see how he reacted to all this popular outburst. Smith cared little for this kind of thing : he was not interested in playing "the gallant hero," in fact the whole affair bored him. "Within a short time," to quote his own words, "being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight," he took himself apart, as you will find all future great men must do for meditation and study as a prelude to their real life's work. To risk the gibes and jeers of his own immediate countrymen who had known him since he was a baby ; to withdraw himself from their society and become a hermit at the expense of being thought ludicrous and an eccentric ; to pursue an unusual line of conduct in sheer obedience to his own instincts—all this reveals to us quite another side of his character. He possessed a moral courage and spiritual determination in

no way inferior to his physical bravery. He was an adventurer in mind as well as in body. And there are many of us in a busy world who envy him in seeing so clearly his destiny ahead, without being enticed away by his immediate environment.

"He retired himselfe into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any towne, invironed with many hundred Acres of other woods : Here by a faire brook he built a Pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay." Could anything be simpler or more delightful to an independent mind bent on study and thought ? And with him he took two books, whose power was to exercise itself over him for the rest of his life. Of these studies the one was Marcus Aurelius, that ancient Roman stoic, thinker and emperor, soldier and philosopher. From his writings Smith was able to consider sympathetically and in solitude the jottings of a general written down in his lonely moments snatched during the business of war. We can trace hereafter something of that stoic's high nobility, his tenderness and sincerity in the youth who was to be father of the great man. The value of self-mastery, the Divine immanence in the universe, the insignificance of the individual in the great scheme of things, the call to human courage in obedience to duty : such Aurelian thoughts entered a mind ripe for reception.

It is true that Aurelius had written in Greek and that his famous *Thoughts*—one of the world's really great books that has influenced men of all nations and ages—was not published until the year 1558 at Zurich. But in 1529 Antonio de Guevara had in his *Libro de Marco Aurelio* produced a Spanish work based on the Roman emperor's philosophical teaching. In 1557 Sir Thomas North had issued *The Dial of Princes*, which was a version of Guevara's book. Now here we have the interesting fact that North's personality would appeal to Smith's imagination exactly, for he was another instance of a

man of action being, like Aurelius, also literary minded. Sir Thomas had served as a captain against the Armada, and it must have been *The Dial of Princes* which Smith took with him into that retreat under "a Pavillion of boughes": for the first English translation of Aurelius's actual *Thoughts* was not made until the year 1634. North's work we know to have had immense vogue in England, and North himself died only a few months after Smith had commenced his meditation.

The second volume with which the young hermit had armed himself was Machiavelli's *Art of Warre*, and here again we see how the revived study of the classics in Europe was to have a wonderful domination over the men that should reveal to us the New World across the seas. Of course this classical taste was to manifest itself in art with its cherubs and scroll work, and in literature (but significantly in poetry) with its constant references to "Cæsars," "Greeks," "Romans," gods and goddesses, "Homers," as well as many other ancient models. Machiavelli's visions were largely a reconstruction according to the grandeur that was Rome: his own political ideal was a republic such as the Eternal City had witnessed in former times. His *Arte della Guerra*, which was only eighty years old when Smith devoted to it this full attention, upheld the idea of an armed people, with infantry as the main strength of the army: it was thus a plea for Rome with her legions as a model.

Thus, having had a preliminary few years in Continental armies and experienced the perils of the sea, the future President of Virginia and Admiral of New England was in the best of conditions for studying quietly the principles and philosophy as expressed by two of the finest minds in any age. No one can think of that sylvan sojourn in Lincolnshire without realizing that in "a little wooddie pasture" by "a faire brook"

ideas were being conceived that some day would come forth as great colonial expressions. Just as the scholar-monk retires from life's hurly-burly to the sanctity of his cell to create some masterpiece of learning ; just as the modern scientist encloses himself in his laboratory until he astonishes the world with a new discovery ; so in the fifteenth century Prince Henry the Navigator withdrew himself from the known world to the cold, barren, dreary Sagres that he might open up the unknown world of South Africa, the East Indies and elsewhere ; so in the year 1600—that pivotal date which joins the Middle Ages to modern times—John Smith in willing isolation amid the bleak, wind-swept plains of Lincolnshire was passing an essential period preliminary to founding that great nation which to-day we call the United States.

If Smith preferred his own society, his thoughts, his studies, his little camp, he was no mere sedent. With him he had taken his horse for exercise, his "lance and ring" ; whilst for food he lived chiefly on venison, and whatever he required was brought to him by his man. But, finally, the countryside would not let him alone : they could not understand why this fellow should still prefer his own company. And, after the manner of busybodies who fail to realize that men of Smith's temperament are never less lonely than when alone, they persuaded a certain Italian, who was an accomplished horseman and "Rider to Henry Earle of Lincolne" to get in touch with the hermit. The Italian's "languages and good discourse, and exercise of riding" had the effect of Smith transferring his residence to the Earl of Lincoln's household at Tattersall. Of course it was a mistake, though we can appreciate that the larger opportunities for horsemanship, and perhaps martial knowledge, were the overwhelming and decisive temptation.

But such an existence soon palled, the call of the wide world came to him once more. He must leave his home

county and his own country. He had studied and reflected, but the time had here come to resume adventuring, so he must go abroad again, now to embark on the most extraordinary incidents of his life. The confidence of youth was still within him, and he had not yet emerged from his twenty-first year. He could enjoy the freedom of the land as well as the freedom of the seas, the thrill of life, the joy of travel, and the excitement of fighting.



CHAPTER III

SMITH GOES ABROAD



If to-day one of the great problems of civilization is to find an outlet for the physical energy of youth, those who lived in bygone centuries were more fortunate.

Even during the nineteenth there was the great adventure of rising industries, gold discoveries, clipper ships, railways, exploring darkest Africa, and so on. Before that period there was an opening for a young man's enthusiasm in service under the Honourable East India Company or in the Anglo-French wars. During the seventeenth century there were Anglo-Dutch wars, privateering, buccaneering and plantations, just as in the Tudor times there was many a chance to singe the Spaniard's beard. Farther back still such affairs as the Wars of the Roses, wars with France, wars with Scotland, rebellions, conspiracies and the like afforded an opportunity for adventurous minors to display their prowess and expend their vigour.

But for generation after generation there had always existed that common enemy of Christendom, that natural foe and ready-made opponent whom we may conveniently call the Turk. If our modern youth is unfortunate in having to create artificial opportunities for prowess, those who lived in the Middle Ages had always a standing chance when it came to fighting against Turks, Saracens, Mohammedans, or, after 1492, the Barbary corsairs.

The long succession of Crusades was in origin, and largely in continuity, an expression of religious zeal as wars of the Cross against the infidel : but they were also a call to adventure, to travel by sea and land, to witness the world, to partake in noble conflict. Nothing stirred the then narrow world so much as the knowledge that the Holy Land was now controlled by the infidel Turk : no propaganda has ever been so universally successful as that appeal for organizing the Crusades. And even when zeal died down, these undertakings left behind two permanent effects.

Firstly, their consequence on Western progress was as considerable as the subsequent Reformation and French Revolution : for among other resulting issues were the drawing away to a common concentrated enterprise all those lawless and adventurous nobles who, instead of being a danger at home, now contributed to the consolidation of European national ideals. The character of an individual is one : the character of a crowd is something quite different. And the wild spirits united against the Turk, toned by the common perils of voyaging in ill-found ships, or by fighting fierce encounters on land, created an international policy which was in essence strongly Christian, pro-Papal and violently anti-Turk. Secondly, even after the practice of crusading had died utterly, there remained the twin influences of travel and knowledge : men from elementary civilizations became familiar with higher standards of European comfort, just as in the Great War many a private soldier for the first time learned to be fed well on good food.

From these Crusades, then, there continued right through the Elizabethan period, and after, the impetus to see the world, with the consequent desire to forge the permanent link of commerce ; and there continued, side by side, unaffected by any break with Rome, the intense

indignation against, hatred and fear of the Turk whether in respect of his armies ashore or his galleys afloat in the waters of the Mediterranean. Travel and wars are essentially for the confident and vigorous, but to such as these the height of adventure was to contribute even some small share against an historic enemy.

We can readily appreciate this instinct in the mind of every spirited young man. He might not have been familiar with the flow of history, but the traditional antipathy was handed down, and history kept on repeating itself. By the eighth century of the Christian era the advance of Moslem power had become something terribly real in Europe. Before long it threatened to be dominant among Western peoples, but the Conquest of Granada in 1492 by the Spaniards sent the Moslems finally back across the Gibraltar Straits to Africa. The Turks, however, in the East, driven by the Mongols out of Central Asia to Armenia, had gradually extended westwards into Asia Minor, and in 1358, by the capture of Gallipoli, had gained their first footing into Europe. Then in the period 1389-1402 they had subdued Wallachia, Bulgaria, Thessaly and Macedonia. The combined strength of Hungary and Poland had been defeated, and by the middle of the fifteenth century Turkey, with a renewed strength, was able to show her aggressive power against Hungary. Constantinople was captured in 1453, Hungary was barely saved, Albania like Peloponnesus was conquered a few years later, and it was during the reign of Soliman the Magnificent (1520-1566) that this Sultan's empire became at once vast and a terror to Christendom, the central portions of Hungary becoming a mere Turkish province. But the peak of success had been reached, and Soliman's successor, Selim II (1566-1574), was a notorious drunkard who left his generals to fight his battles. It was during his period that the historic Battle of Lepanto,

1571, fought by a triple alliance of Rome, Spain and Venice in a Holy League of Nations, proved that the Turk was not invincible and that the whole Moslem strength of Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Turkey could be broken when the Christian powers cared to unite and organize.

But Lepanto did not immediately eradicate the scourges of the sea any more than the declining power of the Sultans gave to Eastern Europe at once peace and safety. On the contrary, Transylvanian princes and soldiers were kept busily employed against a foe notorious for his cruelty and ruthlessness. England was less affected than Southern Europe, although not less hating the Turk for all his works. English ships trading to the Levant were not seldom captured, taken into some North African port, and their crews condemned to perpetual slavery. Nor did this corsair menace conclude until operations against Algiers in the early nineteenth century altered a cess-pool into a health resort. Collaterally with this animosity against the Turk was the Englishman's regret that the former should refuse Christianity ; and the well-known passage in the Good Friday prayers in the Book of Common Prayer, where "Turks" are especially mentioned, is to-day a survival of that age when it was thought a wholesome duty to fight against a universal foe who had wrought such damage to nations and individuals.

Thus, then, we can now appreciate that with this steady invitation to adventurers, to young men of ardent spirit and energetic bodies, the possibility of slaying Turks appealed to John Smith, after his temporary retirement, as the logical duty. Speaking of himself he related : " Thus when France and Netherlands had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre as his tender yeeres in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto ; he was desirous to see more of the

world, and trie his fortune against the Turkes : both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many Christians slaughter one another."

The "tender yeeres" were those between the age of sixteen and twenty, and then he crossed over to the Low Countries and began those remarkable experiences¹ which make a veritable seventeenth-century *Odyssey*. If ever a man went out searching for trouble, it was Smith : and assuredly he found it, surviving time after time by the narrowest of margins. "*Vincere est vivere*" was his actuating motto as, later, it was to be inscribed upon his heraldic crest. To attempt—to keep on overcoming obstacles—was for him the breath of life. Perhaps at first he was a little too trustful and unsuspecting ; for just as the wily David Hume had once fleeced him, so now, having landed in the Netherlands he found himself in the company of four French swindlers who were adventurers in the worst sense of the word. One of these pretended to be a great noble and that the other three were his attendant gentlemen.

Against his wish Smith was "over-perswaded" to accompany them into France, on the pretext that the Duchess de Mercœur would provide them with means and letters of favour to the Duke, who for the last two years had been commander-in-chief in Hungary to the Emperor Rudolph. We must remember that Hungary had received a smashing blow from the Turks in 1526 in the Battle of Mohacs, and was partitioned into three : Austria being supreme in the west, Turkey remaining in the south and centre for a century and a half, till nearly the end of the seventeenth century, as rulers of two-thirds of Hungarian counties, whilst Transylvania was the rallying point of Magyar nationals.

¹ The authenticity for these travels and adventures in Europe has been as strongly defended as it has been attacked by certain critics. The matter is discussed in the Appendix.

In great discomfort such as the English Channel can create during winter time, Smith and his companions came up that treacherous Somme to St. Valery, an estuary which with its narrow channel, three-knot tide and miles of sandbanks is still dreaded by all but local sailors ; and it could have been but little consolation that William the Conqueror one September evening with a fair wind had set out from here in 1066 after several of his craft had foundered even whilst lying at anchor off St. Valery. But in Smith's ship the skipper must have been remarkably expert or lucky, for Smith says that "in the darke night they arrived in the broad shallow in-let of Saint Vallerie sur Some in Picardie."

Here the leader of the four Frenchmen stealthily arranged that the luggage of themselves and of Smith should be put ashore, with the skipper and the quartette well knowing that in Smith's trunks were good apparel and more money than they possessed. Smith and the other passengers, including some soldiery, were thus compelled to remain on board until the ship's boat came back. This, however, was not till the late afternoon of the following day, when the skipper also returned. Great indignation manifested itself, and the passengers were inclined to slay the skipper when he pretended that he had been prevented from coming off sooner because "the sea went so high," whereas he was really co-operating with the four French rascals who had got away with the luggage. It was useless to Smith that had he and his fellow passengers been sufficiently seamanlike they could have made off with the ship.

For the fact was that on this second occasion Smith had been separated from his money by believing a mere tale ; and on landing he not only had just a penny left but was compelled to sell his cloak in order to pay for his passage. It was only then that one of the soldier passengers named Curzianvere gave him the information

that the leading member of the gang was not the noble lord he pretended but the son of a Breton lawyer. The other three, named Cursell, La Nelie and Monferrat, were his accomplices in crime. It was thus an unfortunate beginning, but Curzianvere promised to look after him and certainly did his best. Proceeding by Dieppe, Caudebec, Honfleur and Pont-Audemer, they reached Caen, where the Prior of St. Stephen's Abbey and many others welcomed them kindly. This was the abbey which was founded by William the Conqueror, where also the latter's body was buried in front of the high altar. Smith mentions that in his time the tomb was already "ruinous," and the modern visitor to Caen will recollect the site as of St. Étienne or the Abbaye aux hommes.

From Caen they passed farther south to Mortagne in Normandy, but Curzianvere being under sentence of banishment dared not be seen except by his friends. Still, he was a man of noble family with influential acquaintances and thus enabled Smith to have his wants supplied. Indeed the latter could have continued enjoying this hospitality indefinitely : "but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poore estate, and his restlesse spirit, that could never finde content, to receiue such noble favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite." So the wanderer resumed his meanderings alone through Normandy and into Brittany from port to port, trying to find some ship of war but without success. Finally he spent all that he had and reached a forest where under a tree "neare dead with grieve and cold" a rich farmer found him, assisted him and helped him on his way.

Shortly afterwards, whilst walking through a grove of trees between Pontorson (which is at the mouth of the Couesnon, dividing Normandy from Brittany) and Dinan he happened to encounter Cursell. Smith was

in no fortunate condition, but the cheat was in this respect not less miserable. Outside an old tower the two now met in combat, and Cursell was soon hurled to the ground. Before long he had confessed the trick played at St. Valery on Smith, and how that the four had quarrelled among themselves over the division of the spoil. Smith, leaving Cursell, now made his way to the Earl of Poyer, who during the unhappy years of 1590-1596 (when Henry of Navarre was busily fighting the Holy League) had been brought up in England together with Poyer's two brothers. Smith was now treated with every hospitality and taken to see St. Malo, Mont St. Michel, Lamballe, St. Brieuc, Lannion, Tonquedec, where Poyer had his place, Guingamp, and other parts of Brittany ; afterwards, being already "better refurnished than ever," he made his way to Rennes, thence south to Nantes, Poitiers, La Rochelle and so to Bordeaux.

He had heard what a strongly fortified place Bayonne was, and nothing would satisfy his curiosity but that he should go there too. And thence, in his eager quest to see all that France could offer him, he struck across Southern France through Pau, Toulouse, Béziers, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Montpellier, Nîmes, Arles and so to Marseilles. For the call of the sea was always sounding and summoning him, nor could he resist. It cannot be said, however, that Smith was one of those who loved ships and seafaring merely for themselves, and this point needs emphasizing. Whilst there were then, as there still are this day, men and boys who regard life afloat as the essential thing, Smith regarded it as a means to an end, the gate by which entrance to adventure is obtained. He was never exclusively the sailor but the traveller who takes fullest advantage of the nautical arts to find new experiences, fresh situations and full opportunities for his own indefinable yearnings. In the flush of youth this must connote strenuous endeavour, search-

ing for any wars within range, seeking risks and relishing them for their own sakes ; but, as his body became hardened and his fiery nature more constrained, it was inevitable that ultimately constructive pioneering would appeal to him more strongly than desultory fighting, organization and the carrying out of a bold policy would become more attractive than bursting in to other people's troubles.

Smith knew that, wherever there was a port, there was a road that led to romance. He was not of that large and enthusiastic family which in loafing round quays and wharves, looking down on to the decks of ships or up aloft at the spars and rigging, critically and sympathetically finds a special and peculiar joy. Smith was no dreamer, he was too practical-minded for that : with him cause and effect were seen in closest relation. The sea was no sentimental fancy but a marvellous reality : ships were far more than creatures of interest, but the bridges along which one wanders towards mighty possibilities. This Lincolnshire adventurer in his clear-minded, undeviating, purposeful procedure must some day realize that even travel and absorbing exploits are not in themselves a goal but a method of acquiring knowledge that will be requisite when the time comes to build ambitiously.

But nothing is less impatient than youth, and at present he was in the mood to follow that romantic sea road from its great Mediterranean terminal whithersoever it should lead him. At Marseilles, then, it was not difficult to find himself aboard a ship that was bound for Italy, but the weather quickly piped up and the vessel was compelled to run into Toulon. Even after putting to sea from here, wind and sea became so bad by the time she was off Nice that she had to anchor under the small island of St. Mary. Now this ship was carrying a number of pilgrims of various nationalities bound for

Rome, Marseilles having long been a highly important pilgrim-port for those proceeding from Western Europe either to the Eternal City or to the Holy Sepulchre. Few if any of the passengers on such occasion had ever previously beheld the sea or been aboard a ship : nothing but their religious duty would have brought them afloat. Stringent regulations existed so that the pilgrims should be provided with good and sufficient victuals by the passenger agents—"cargatores" was the well-known name for the latter along the Mediterranean ; but if you can imagine a not too seaworthy craft crowded with a lot of frightened sea-sick landsmen who hated everything to do with shipping, you will understand that Smith's fellow passengers after two spells of bad weather were in no pleasant mood.

But these Catholics had been roused during the previous years by religious disputes. In France from 1562 there lasted with little respite religious wars for the next thirty years, and there was no such consideration as tolerance on either side. The massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572 had embittered the struggle, and even the Edict of Nantes, by which toleration was granted to the Huguenots in 1598, could scarcely banish that deep feeling which was exhibited by those of the old orthodox religion against such as had come under the Reformation's influence. In particular, at this dawn of the seventeenth century, the English nation by reason of her rupture with Rome and her ambitious seamanhood (which now sailed boldly into the Caribbean regardless of Spanish exclusive claims based on the Pope's "Bull of Donation") was not popular on the Continent among those in union with Rome. The Spaniards openly regarded Drake and his class as pirates and thieves : in Spanish parlance the words Englishman and pirate were synonymous.

Thus there grew up among the passenger pilgrims

who were his shipmates a conviction that Smith was the cause of all this bad luck in voyaging : he was the Jonah and would have to be sacrificed before they should ever have any luck. "Hourly cursing him, not only for a Hugonot, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them, their disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him over-board : yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats."

Thus, for the second time in his life, Smith was compelled to go very near towards death by drowning. The pilgrim-ship had got rid of him, but he was not done with shipping : and the very next morning he saw a couple of vessels which had come in under St. Mary's to shelter from the gale, and aboard one of them he was brought, refreshed and so kindly treated that he was quite content to remain in her. For what reason was he thus comforted ? The answer is that this happened to be a ship from Brittany, and her master, Captain La Roche, was from St. Malo, which of course meant that he knew of and held in respect the Earl of Poyer. Therefore when Smith informed La Roche of all that had happened, the skipper both "for pitie, and the love of the Honourable Earle . . . regarded and entertained" the Englishman well.

But, if Smith were no Jonah, at least in some marvellous manner adventures must always accompany him with amazing persistence. At the same time he went so close to the vicinity of other risks that it is a wonder how he survived : for the Mediterranean with but a few interludes had been, ever since the days of classical Greece and Rome, the happy sphere for roving pirates. In Cicero's time they were regarded as "enemies of the human race," but at this commencing seventeenth

century the corsairs of the North African coast, with their fortified ports and immense resources, their well-armed ships and determined crews, were placed along the trade-routes to fall upon merchant vessels with paralysing effect. Many an English ship from London and Plymouth bound for the Levant had thus come to an untimely end, and her men to a lifetime of slavery.

In like manner French vessels and French crews had suffered even long after the Battle of Lepanto. The danger had become so great, indeed, that some sixteen years after Smith was in La Roche's ship France had to send a fleet of fifty vessels against these Barbary pirates ; and three years after that date the navy of James I performed its first and last active service, when a fleet consisting of six royal and a dozen merchant ships carried out an expedition against the Algerine pirates.



CHAPTER IV

TRAVELS ACROSS EUROPE



OW, after the gale had subsided and the first fair wind had arrived, Smith's new ship got under way from the island, crossed the open sea to Corsica, coasted southward till the other side of Sardinia, sailed on till she got hold of the North African shore, and so past the Gulf of Tunis and Cape Bon to the Island of Lampedusa. Thence she made Cape Rosetta and reached Alexandria, where she discharged her cargo.

The next stage of the voyage was to coast round the Levant, up the littoral of Asia Minor as far as Scanderoon (Alexandretta) in order to see what shipping was lying in the roads. Not satisfied, this St. Malo trader of 200 tons proceeded by Cyprus, Rhodes, the southern islands of the Grecian archipelago, past Crete and Cape Matapan towards the Adriatic. The island of Cephalonia glided astern, away to starboard was the scene where Antony and Cleopatra had fled from the Battle of Actium ; and a little later they were abreast of Corfu, where, only thirty years before this visit of John Smith, Don John of Austria with his two hundred and seventy-one ships had arrived on the eve of Lepanto's historic battle.

The French ship was out for piracy after having left Egypt. Alexandretta was unable to tempt her, but she well knew that if she waited long enough between Corfu and Cape Otranto she would be able to sight one of those

richly-laden vessels which fetched from Asia Minor Oriental silks and other goods that had come overland from India for the merchant princes of Venice. After lying-to for a few days, one such ship was seen. She has not been described for us, yet from contemporary illustrations we know she would be not of the long, lean, fighting-galley type, but slow, big-bellied, with two (or even three) masts, and armed with guns as defence against the Mediterranean sea-rovers who made piracy their profession. The Breton craft would certainly be a three-master, with a lateen mizzen but square-rigged on her other masts. Vessels of this size and period carried as many as twelve guns mounted amidships, on the forecastle, and in the stern.

Scarcely had the two vessels spoken each other than an engagement began. The Breton fired a broadside, then his stern guns, and finally his other broadside. It is the first duty of a freighter that she should get her cargo safe home into port, and avoid where practicable all fighting. The Venetian remembered this and now fled, but the Breton went in pursuit, pouring in shot after shot till the opponent's gear was heavily damaged. For the first time in his life Smith was to assist at a sea engagement. Just as the previous weeks had enabled him to learn such seamanship as setting sail, trimming the yards, sheeting in the canvas, steering, anchoring, and the use of a compass, so now he was being educated in naval fighting. Thus within a brief space of time he had experienced from shipwreck to action, from gales of wind to peaceful trading, more varieties of the mariner's existence than were met usually in several long careers.

In spite of gunnery, the chief reliance in those days was placed on the employment of boarding-tactics. Twice in ninety minutes the Frenchman managed to get alongside and poured in a hot fire, but the other was able

to wriggle out of such close contending. Once more the two heavy ships were rolling their hulls against each other, and this time the Venetian succeeded in setting her enemy on fire. The conflagration was eventually put out, but the French skipper's rage was burning still more furiously. His guns therefore blazed away with such zest that the treasure-ship was holed frequently between wind and water, and was destined either to sink or surrender. Having already lost a score of men, she preferred the latter.

The Breton had not escaped lightly, for fifteen of her people were dead and others were injured ; but all available hands were sent aboard the Italian to stop the leaks and guard the chained prisoners. During the next twenty-four hours Smith's shipmates in their piratical procedure had a busy time transferring the valuable silks and velvets, cloths of gold, money of gold and silver, till they were tired and contented. Unable to take out of her any more, they let the argosy go with her crew and as much merchandise as would have freighted another Frenchman, for she was at least twice the pirate's size.

Captain La Roche, needing repairs to his vessel, now stood to the south-west in order to make the Calabrian coast ; but, on learning that at Messina there were half a dozen galleys, he deemed it advisable to make Malta. The breeze, however, now came fair, enabling him to coast past Sicily and to carry on northwards past Sardinia and Corsica till he reached Antibes roads in Piedmont. So here was Smith back again in the Riviera not very far from where he had started. But it was one of his characteristics—and his life is full of instances giving proof—to know exactly what he wanted, and he refused to be side-tracked from his main objective. He had spent some interesting weeks learning a good deal about the mariner's art, but the time had come for him to make

another change. Piracy was not his aim, nor England his goal just yet.

It is quite clear that he took an active part in the attack on the Venetian, for he received from Captain La Roche the equivalent of several hundred pounds sterling as his share of the plunder. Nor could the Frenchman dare to treat Smith meanly, having regard to the Earl of Ployer's acquaintanceship. Wishing to continue his travels and visit the cities of Italy, Smith at his own request was landed at Antibes together with his prize money and "a little box God sent him worth neere as much more." Finding another ship he thus reached Leghorn, "being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of Italy."

Passing through Tuscany, he came to Siena, where he found his two dear friends, Lord Willoughby and the latter's brother. These had got mixed up in some desperate affray and been badly wounded, yet Smith was careful to add that it was "to their exceeding great honour." Not even the meeting with these Lincolnshire intimates halted him long : for after visiting various other cities he found himself in Rome, where he was considerably intrigued at seeing His Holiness Clement VIII. With the zeal of a rapid tourist, Smith visited the local churches, and one Friday even was present in St. John de Lateran's when Clement said Mass. After going out of his way to salute Father Parsons, a famous English Jesuit, Smith now having "satisfied himselfe with the rarities of Rome," went down the Tiber to Civita Vecchia, "where he embarked himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of Naples, and her Kingdomes nobilitie."

From Naples he came north again by land through Capua, Rome, Siena, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua to Venice. Having thus finished with

Italy, Smith went over the Adriatic to Ragusa, spent some while examining that northern shore from Albania to Istria, and next struck inland through Laybach to Graz, where its Gothic cathedral had been built about a century previously and its university was already twenty years old. Graz was then the seat of Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, and the chief city of the province of Styria. But it was because of the friends he made here that Graz was to have an important bearing on his future.

Throughout these wanderings across France, the Mediterranean and Italy he had never lost sight of that desire to try his fortune against the Turks. At Graz he was getting much nearer to the sphere of operations, and he met in this city an Englishman as well as an Irish Jesuit, through whom he met "many brave gentlemen of good qualitie" who gave him introductions to other influential people. Thus, having become acquainted with Lord Ebersbaught, Smith explained his mission and was handed on to Baron Kisell who was "Generall of the Artillery," who, in turn, presented him to the Earl of Meldri. The latter was in command of a regiment, and under him Smith was now to serve, with whom also he proceeded first to Vienna.

We thus come to the time when Smith, having reached the age of twenty-one and ended his sightseeing travels, next set forth on a new phase of life. We are now to follow his itinerary through Eastern Europe until the climax of that battle in the Rothenthurm Pass, which was fought on November 18, 1602. The Turks, intoxicated with their successes, were, by the time Smith arrived on the scene, a most serious menace to the Christian nations in this part of Europe. They were both able and cruel fighters, and no participant in a campaign against them could expect to find anything but the most strenuous bloody opposition. Smith, however, with the

confidence of youth and the desire for excitement, had set his mind on this task. Whether he should come out dead or alive, it was entirely as a volunteer that he joined up. Patriotism was out of the question : that old inducement to adventure was everything.



CHAPTER V IN SINGLE COMBAT



O the south-east of Graz lies Kanizsa. This had fallen, and now in the year 1601 that strongly-fortified Hungarian town of Ober Limbach was being besieged by the Turks with such thoroughness that its communications were entirely cut, and no information could be brought to its governor, Lord Ebersbaught. John Smith, however, had previously taught the latter a method of signalling which both of them understood perfectly, for it was as simple as effective. Of this fact Smith told Baron Kisell the "Generall of the Archdukes Artillery," saying that he would guarantee to pass any message through and receive a reply, provided only that Smith might be taken to some place whence he might make a torch-flame visible to those inside Ober Limbach.

Kisell listened to the suggestion and was so impressed as to give Smith guides, who during the darkness of night brought him to a mountain, where three torches were exhibited equidistant from each other. Smith's code night-signalling was based on the following. The message was first condensed as much as possible, and then the alphabet letters were divided in two parts—a to l, and m to z. The letters of the former were each numbered one; the letters of the latter each numbered two. His own explanation was as follows :

"The first part from A. to L. is signified by shewing

and hiding one linke,¹ so oft as there is letters from A. to that letter you meane ; the other part from M. to Z. is mentioned by two lights in like manner." Thus, presumably, the letter c would be made, for instance, by showing the torch three times ; and it was therefore a primitive kind of Morse code. "The end of word is signified by shewing of three lights : ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done ; beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from A. to M." Employing this method from the mountain, Smith was able, even at the distance of seven miles, first to call up the governor by showing the three torches, which Ebersbaught answered with three fires in like manner. Communication being thus established, and "each knowing the others being and intent," Smith was able to signal these words : "On thursday at night I will charge on the East. At the alarum, salley you." To Kisell's message Ebersbaught replied by the same method that he would sally forth.

Against the Turks' 20,000 besiegers Kisell could bring only 10,000 men, but Kisell was informed that the Turks were so divided by the river that neither half could come to the other's assistance ; and to this knowledge Smith brought the help of a second novel notion, which also was put into practice. A number of small lines each two hundred yards in length were selected, and to them were fastened several thousand pieces of match "armed with powder." These were to be fired simultaneously, whilst the lines were supported by staves every two hundred yards, and in such a manner that they resembled so many musketeers.

The moment chosen for employing this stratagem was just before the alarum was to be given Ebersbaught, and the whole idea worked so well that the Turks on seeing

¹ "Link" is here used with the meaning of a torch.

How her released OLIMPAGH bwa shatogem of sights Chap. 6.



SMITH'S METHOD OF SIGNALLING TO OBER LIMBACH

these thousands of "false fires" turned to attack the imaginary army. This enabled Kisell with his 10,000 troops to rush into the enemy's quarters and drive him out so that the enemy "ranne up and downe as men amazed." Presently, too, Ebersbaught came pouring out with his men against the entrenched Turks, and thus of the once besieging but now fleeing enemy one-third were slain and many were drowned. And that other half of the Turkish forces were so busy marching against those elusive thousands of imitation muskets, that under cover of darkness Kisell was able to hurry 2000 of his men into Ober Limbach to aid the garrison. The result of all this was that the Turks were compelled to raise the siege and retire to Kanizsa. The victory brought Kisell great honour, but Smith also was rewarded for the important share which he had contributed. He was now promoted to be Captain of two hundred and fifty horsemen, and in this capacity we shall be able to follow his further adventures.

Somehow the condition of this Eastern Europe, with its restlessness and uncertainty, was extraordinarily in keeping with the temperament of John Smith. Parcellled out into principalities, politically unstable, it was rather like some crazy, disordered flagstones than an artistic mosaic : the time had not yet come when out of this medley there were to be organized powerful nation states. And yet, it is to be noted, the Peace Treaties subsequent to the Great War of 1914-1919 have restored the map of Europe very largely to the condition of four hundred years ago. The statesmen and diplomatists at Versailles brought about a curious patchwork of small states, so that Hungary, as in Smith's time, is again constricted. And it was merely because there was all this lack of cohesion, together with the perpetual menace from the Turks, that this corner of the European continent was just that sphere where a young

soldier in search of adventure could rely on gratifying his desire.

They were tormented regions, where always there seemed a war either in progress or preparation ; and this condition was holding back the political as well as the commercial solidification of East European civilization. On the one hand the Turks, by their vast range of resources, were able to obtain troops by thousands. The Christian Princes by the aid of their own men, together with ten thousand French soldiers, were trying to oppose Turkish advance and regain some of the territory which had fallen into the Infidels' hands. For this purpose were employed three Christian armies under, respectively, the Archduke Mathias (with the Duke de Mercœur as General), whose duty was to defend Lower Hungary ; the Archduke Ferdinand, whose duty was to regain Kanizsa if possible ; and the Governor of Upper Hungary, who was to join with a leader named Georgio Busca¹ so as to bring about a complete conquest of Transylvania.

Our immediate concern is with the Duke de Mercœur, with Colonel the Earl of Meldri, and Captain John Smith. These, during September 1601, were besieging Stuhlweissenburg—or Alba Regalis. This Hungarian town, about forty-five miles S.S.E. of Komorn, had been for five centuries, until the year 1527, the place where the Hungarian kings were crowned, where also they were buried. It was, however, now in the Turkish army's possession, so well protected by nature and man that it seemed impregnable. With a force of 30,000 the Duke de Mercœur was besieging this difficult and historic town ; and it was here that Smith's ingenuity was again to show itself to advantage.

For the Englishman had devised a method of using

¹ Georgio Busca, as Smith calls him, was the celebrated Albanian General, George Basti.

fireworks that he named “fiery dragons,” of which previously at Komorn he had given Meldri a demonstration. Smith was now allowed to put this device into practice, and it consisted of the following. About fifty round earthen pots were filled with gunpowder and then covered over by pitch mixed with brimstone and turpentine. To this were added many musket bullets, and over the top were added “a strong searcloth, then over all a good thicknesse of towze-match well tempered with oyle of lin-seed, campheer, and powder of brimstone.” These pots of explosives were then hurled by means of slings into those parts of the town where it was known (from the information of some escaped Christians) that the Turks were most thickly assembled. Smith describes the effect of his fiery dragons thus : “At midnight, upon the Alarum, it was a fearfull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire : but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered Turkes was most wonderfull to heare.”

Finally, after other operations, Stuhlweissenburg was taken, having been for a generation in the enemy’s hands. The Turkish pasha was captured by the valiant Earl Meldri with his own hands. But, having left in Stuhlweissenburg an adequate garrison, Mercœur, with Meldri and his other officers as well as twenty thousand soldiers, set out to meet an army of three times that size, which the Turks were now sending for the purpose of regaining the town. The clash came when they met on the march in a bloody skirmish, regiment against regiment. Meldri narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, Captain John Smith had his horse slain under him and was himself severely wounded. But in this sprawling, tumbling encounter where horses and men were so mixed up, there had been so many riders killed that Smith had an ample selection and did not long remain unmounted,

" for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters."

Now, after several days, the Turks were made to retire, and then the approach of winter (1601-1602) caused operations to be discontinued for the present ; the enemy making for Budapest. The position thereafter, as visualized by Mercœur, was that, as the enemy were besieged by Ferdinand at Kanizsa, beaten out of Stuhlweissenburg, and thirdly compelled to retreat into Budapest, it looked as if the Christians would soon come into their own if a little more effort were made. He therefore divided his army and sent seven thousand of his men to intensify the Kanizsa operations, and six thousand under Meldri to assist Georgio Busca against the Transylvanians. But this French duke, whilst on his way to France in order to raise fresh forces for next year's campaign, passed through Nuremberg, where he was entertained with great magnificence and royally feasted. Unfortunately on the following morning, February 19, 1602, he was found mysteriously dead. Thus disappears from the picture that General from whose lady it will be remembered those four French impostors had promised to obtain for Smith letters of favour two years previously.

Smith, however, now continued with Meldri, and we shall follow him through far more exciting situations in Transylvania. In Wallachia the prince, Michael by name, had died, and now that Mercœur was dead also, Meldri felt himself sufficiently free not to aid Busca against Prince Sigismund Bathori,¹ but rather to assist the latter against the Turks. This winter of 1601-1602 was a severe one in Central and Eastern Europe. Around Kanizsa the Christian army, by reason of the persistent bitter winds, hail, frost and snow, suffered severely. The

¹ Sigismund Bathori, Prince of Transylvania from 1581 to 1602, died at Prague in 1613.

siege had to be raised, the cold compelling them to leave behind tents, artillery and everything they possessed. Several hundred men were frozen to death in one night and a couple of thousand or more perished whilst fleeing in the snow. Not less rigorous was Meldri's march into Transylvania, so that his men were worn out. But they were promised any booty they might obtain from the Turks.

It was, of course, Smith's allegiance to Meldri which caused the Englishman to shift the scene of his adventures. The Colonel had been born in Transylvania, the people loved him, and he wished to rid his native land of the enemy Turk. Prince Sigismund Bathori was glad enough to have so valorous an officer and so many veteran troops. At first Smith's commanding officer began by making desultory incursions among rocky mountains against Turks, Tartars, bandits and renegades and getting better acquainted with the terrain, for ever since 1582 he had been employed solely in the Emperor of Austria's service. And now when spring had come to Transylvania, or, as Smith expresses it, "the earth no sooner put on her Greene habit than" Meldri's troops gained possession of a narrow valley between two high mountains, laid an ambush and tempted out the garrison of a city who were promptly cut off.

This was a good beginning with his cavalry, but the country was such that it required another six days before six thousand pioneers could clear a way to bring up his ordnance. Artillery was already becoming appreciated at its right worth both on land and in ships, but it was still extremely crude. The ordnance of the fourteenth century was both inefficient and difficult to move, these guns being made of wrought-iron bars, bound together like the staves of a cask by the shrinking over them of iron hoops. It is true that by 1602 European artillery was better and consisted chiefly of cast-iron or even brass

guns ; but the importance of mobility had not yet been fully realized, and the wheeled gun-carriages were mostly rough and awkward, though very shortly the need for expeditious movement brought about in Europe the required means.

Whilst these valuable days were thus spent in bringing up Meldri's artillery, the Turks were able to pour into the town both troops and provisions, and even to engage in such a fierce onslaught that they and Meldri each lost fifteen hundred men. The name of this place, as given by Smith, is Regal, though it is not possible to identify the exact locality. We do, however, know that this strong fortress of Regal, with its ramparts and artillery, looked out on to a plain where the Christian army was encamped. So commanding did the Turkish guns seem to the latter, that Smith's brother officers and men had spent most of a month entrenching themselves and erecting platforms for their own batteries. It was this lengthy delay which caused the Turks to become derisive and abusive. The Christians' guns are no good ! Presently their army will depart without assaulting Regal !

That was the kind of talk which went on among the enemy, who finally sent across an offensive message "that to delight the ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defie any Captain, that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head." This challenge was discussed by the Christians and accepted. Lots were then cast as to who should be chosen, and it happened that the choice fell upon Captain Smith.

When the time came for the combat there was a setting for any painter. In the background rose the city walls and ramparts full of that eager, inquisitive womanhood who down the ages have flocked to see gladiators slay each other, Christian martyrs in the Colosseum devoured

by wild animals, or some figure wracked in the Courts of Justice on a criminal charge. On one side, half a mile away, were mountains ; on the other stood the tents of Meldri's army in the rear of the trenches. But everywhere among the individuals of both camps a tense excitement was holding sway ; and over all was the clear warm atmosphere of young summer.

A truce had been arranged, Christian and Turkish warriors for a while standing as spectators free from fights. Suddenly the sound of music came from the Turkish oboes and on to the green grass well mounted, well armoured and armed rode the Turbashaw, his shoulders ornamented with a pair of great wings of eagles' feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones. Before him went a janizary carrying his lance, and on each side was an orderly leading his horse. Scarcely had the spectators fully grasped this presentation than a blare of Christian trumpets startled the air, and out trotted Captain Smith accompanied only by a page bearing his lance. The stage was filled, the arena was complete, and the Englishman, having first passed by his rival with a courteous salute, engaged in combat. But the result was amazingly quick, for no sooner had the order to charge been sounded than the two horsemen, with their lances extended, went rushing against each other as fast as their steeds could carry. The Christian captain struck the Turk on the head, so that he fell to the ground lifeless. Thereupon alighting, the Christian cut off the Turk's head and went trotting back to his own side, totally unhurt, leaving the Turbashaw's people to recover the body.

This brilliant bit of duelling caused great joy to the Christian army, but to the Turks there came dismay. One of the latter, whom Smith calls Grualgo, was so infuriated that he challenged Smith, vowing that he would regain the Turbashaw's head or lose his own. This

invitation to further combat was accepted, and next day the contest was fought out. As soon as the trumpets sounded, the rivals charged, but the issue was not to be decided so quickly this time. True, both lances were smashed to pieces and the Turk was almost unhorsed, but now the combatants began to use pistols. Grualgo thus fired and hit Smith on the lower part of his armoured body ; but Smith next fired and wounded the Turk in his left arm. This was the climax ; for Grualgo was no longer able either to control his horse or to defend himself, whereas the Englishman was unharmed. The result was that Grualgo was thrown to the ground and so injured that Smith had no difficulty in lopping off this Turk's head, which with horse and armour were taken to the Christian encampment, whilst the body and rich apparel were sent back into the city.

This ended the truce, and then for some time the Turks made a number of sallies, which were of little consequence. But the earthworks of the Christian camp had not yet been made as high and effective as was desirable, and it was necessary to gain a little more time. Smith therefore again came forward, and this time he sent the challenge across. He wished that the Turkish ladies " might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants' heads, but if any Turke of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeeme them, he should have his upon the like conditions, if he could winne it." Now this challenge, so pungently worded, could not fail to be accepted, and it was so done by one whom Smith calls Bonny Mulgro.

There is something intensely dramatic and primitive when we think of this Lincolnshire youth riding out between the assembled watching armies to undergo ordeal by single combat for the third time. On the day following acceptance of the challenge both contestants entered the field as before, save that neither had lances



SMITH'S THREE SINGLE COMBATS

(With, respectively, the Turbashaw, Grualgo, and Bonny Mulgro)

but only such weapons as the defender had chosen. On this final encounter the honour of an English gentleman and a Christian was at stake. The combat opened with pistols, but neither adversary scored. The next selected weapon was the battle-axe, and thus the two hammered away at each other with such piercing effect that they could scarcely keep their saddles. The struggle was in this case fairly even, and no rivals could be better matched until Smith received such a blow that he lost his battle-axe and very nearly his balance. This narrow escape from crashing to the ground delighted all the spectators on the ramparts, believing that at last the Turk was about to win for them victory ; indeed Bonny Mulgro so pressed forward and followed up this advantage to the best of his power that for a time the result was still hanging in suspense. But the Englishman “ by the readinesse of his horse, and his judgement and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all men’s expectation, by God’s assistance, not onely avoided the Turkes violence, but having drawne his faulchion [*i.e.* a broad, crescent-shaped sword], pierced the Turke so under the Culets thorow backe and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.”

Thus ended one of the most spectacular and dramatic single-combats in history ; and the ultimate conclusion had been awaited not merely with that keen interest by which any crowd looks on at any exhibition of physical prowess. It was because of the wild hatred against the infidel Turk invading the European continent, the recollection of his ruthless brutalities and the fear of still more to come, that this young Smith became no ordinary hero but the deputed representative of one tremendous cause : and he was regarded by his fellow campaigners accordingly. Had he failed, had he been killed in that final encounter as very nearly he had, then he would have

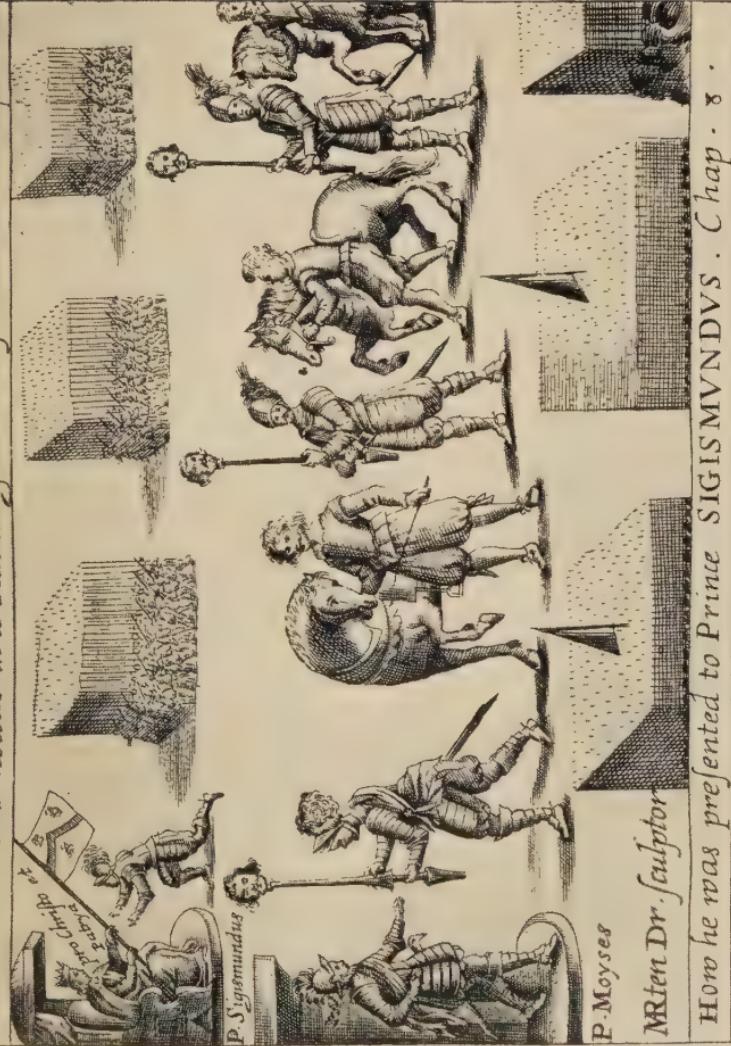


been correspondingly responsible for Christian gloom and Turkish joy.

But such was the enthusiasm which Captain Smith had created throughout the whole of the besieging army that with a guard of six thousand men, accompanied by three spare horses, before each of which was a Turk's head hanging from a lance, he was conducted to the tent of the General. The latter received him with an ardent welcome, embraced him in his arms, made him presents of "a faire horse richly furnished," together with a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats. In addition to these he promoted Smith to the rank of Major.

The siege was renewed, twenty-six pieces of ordnance mounted by the Christians over fifty feet above the plain to dominate Regal, began to foreshadow hopeful events, and within fifteen days breaches were made in the Turkish defence. After a stubborn resistance Regal was captured and then strongly garrisoned by Christian soldiers. Later on, when Prince Sigismund Bathori arrived to review his army he was to receive thousands of prisoners and thirty-six of the enemy's ensigns. And after celebrating thanks "to Almighty God in triumph of those victories," he was informed of Smith's service rendered at Ober Limbach, Stuhlweissenburg and Regal. So impressed was Sigismund as to give the Englishman a year later a grant of arms by patent, together with Sigismund's portrait in gold and an annual pension of three hundred ducats. It is convenient here by anticipation to mention these marks of approval, but there were still more trying ordeals through which John Smith must pass before he was to receive from the prince such honours.

Three TURKS heads in a banner given him for Armes. Chap . 8 .



SMITH, AFTER HIS SUCCESSFUL COMBATS, IS RECEIVED BY THE GENERAL

See also p. 71

CHAPTER VI

THE WANDERING WARRIOR



RANSYLVANIA at this date was in a pitiable condition. Those Transylvanian Alps on the south, and the Carpathian Mountains to the east, had always seemed to have been intended by nature as bulwarks against the advance of Asiatics into Christian Europe.

But the supposed protection had failed, so that, instead of the country being fruitful and prosperous, savage warfare had forced an invasion, and everywhere was desolation. Palaces and churches had been ruined, fields neglected ; and the reason for all this was simple. There had been divided efforts, indifferent governments, no continuous and far-sighted policy ; but, worse still, those three armies already mentioned had not been united to thwart the Turk advancing northward. Transylvania had yet to learn that the mediæval method of ruling, with its stressing of municipal and civic life, rather than its insistence on a national broad organization, was a most serious weakness.

In the absence of that knowledge which comes only through travel, this accentuated local attachment, with its self-containment and even self-content, its feudal system by which the labourer received for his reward payment in food, shelter and raiment, was but natural. Self-sustaining as each community was, there remained little need or opportunity for trade or travel : and such com-

merce as existed was inter-municipal rather than international, the local fairs being the nearest approach to cosmopolitanism. It was this young seventeenth century which was to give the final blow to this parochialism and set going an entirely new economic organization based on a wider outlook. The travel influence by means of the Crusades had been the first step towards this fresh conception, the need for united self-defence against common foes had been the second, though it was the discovery of the New World and the birth of the colonial idea—cutting out local rivalry and intensifying national competition—which was ultimately to transform European thought. The need of moneyed power, of capital, had barely become felt ; but when Smith and his colleagues three years later were to require shipping and stores and planters, then at once there was a demand for investors to bring forth their hoarded wealth.

But in Central and South-Eastern Europe at this year 1602 the mediæval ideal of separate principalities, with its consequent weakness in regard to the great Turkish strength, still continued. The spirit of independence connoted a narrow exclusiveness and near-sighted selfishness together with a certain amount of mutual mistrust, a jealousy of each other's ambitions. Thus it came about that the army in which Meldri and Smith were serving now marched against Busca in Transylvania, were defeated and scattered, and thus Busca became supreme in Transylvania subject only to the Emperor. There now begins a series of operations in Wallachia, that principality which was not till the year 1861 united with Moldavia to form the kingdom of Roumania.

For a time, following the death of their prince, Michael, the Wallachians had been ruled by one Jeremy, whom the Turks had imposed. This ruler's insulting tyranny had caused the Wallachians to revolt and drive him northward into Moldavia, so that Busca now proclaimed

one Rodol as prince under the Emperor. It is from this point that we enter upon the climax of John Smith's adventures ; and if we have seen them become of more and more interest, we are now to witness his exploits raised to a much higher phase. In spite of all his narrow escapes, notwithstanding all the risks which he ran on behalf of those who were not his own countrymen, in spite of all the devastation and bloodshed which his eyes had beheld and the wounds that he had received, Smith was still dominated by his quest of the unknown ; which remained his great motive throughout his eventful life. There was plenty of soldiering ahead of him, heaps of excitements were awaiting him, and, as the hostilities area shifted, so he was feeding that insatiable desire to see new places and fresh sights.

Now Jeremy, instead of accepting banishment, had collected what was in those days a considerable army. It was made up of Turks, Tartars and Moldavians to the number of forty thousand, at whose head he came marching back into Wallachia. Rodol, however, fled to take counsel of Busca ; and the latter, in turn, in the expectation that there would be an opportunity of securing Wallachia for the Emperor and of employing the remnants of Sigismund's army (of which he was not a little suspicious), caused Rodol to assemble his forces against the enemy. So with a strength of thirty thousand, including the regiments of Meldri and others, Rodol marched along that River Oltul which is shown in the modern maps of Roumania flowing through the Transylvanian Alps into the Danube. Following the Oltul (otherwise known as the Aluta or Altus) northward to the pass of Rimnik, they entered Wallachia and encamped at Retch. Jeremy, who was on the banks of the River Arjish, another tributary of the Danube but farther to the eastward, now withdrew to the plains of Pitesti, about fifty miles south of the Transylvanian Alps.

Here he proceeded to fortify his position and wait until he was reinforced by the Krim-Tartars. The Tartars or Turki people had originally come into Europe through Siberia and Central Russia, Asia Minor, Caucasia ; the Krim-Tartars advancing still farther west to the Balkan peninsula, being ethnically an intermediate race between the true Mongols and Europeans. The seventeenth-century Krim-Tartars dressed like Turks and were nomadic, but were to be found along the western extremity of Russia bordering on Lithuania, Moldavia, Podolia and in that vast area between the Carpathians and the Caucasus which the ancient Greeks named Scythia. In the time of Herodotus they had the appearance of Mongols, and in Smith's time they still lived chiefly in waggons covered over with rods wattled together like a bird's nest ; and they fought chiefly from horseback. Like the Turks they were Mohammedans, and their contiguous presence to any Christian state was always a source of great anxiety to Hungarians, Wallachians, Moldavians and Russians, of whom they made many slaves.

Speaking a dialect of the Turki tongue, obtaining from the Turks their laws, never going to war except with Turkish permission, expert as cavalrymen and bowmen, hardy and resolute, agile and intractable, the Tartar has impressed his name into our phraseology as a perpetual reminder of his formidable character. And John Smith was to learn this by the most bitter experience. At first, however, it seemed as if the Christians were to be the victors of this new campaign ; for Rodol managed to cut off many small parties which were on their way to join up with Jeremy. Rodol had the initiative also to try every means of enticing Jeremy out to battle, and at length after some successful feints he did bring it about that the Turkish army came out to fight. It was a fierce enough encounter, which developed rather on the lines

of a mutual massacre, during which Meldri had his horse slain under him, was nearly taken prisoner, "and there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses"; but at last after twenty-five thousand of Christians and the enemy had been slain the victory fell to Rodol and Jeremy fled into Moldavia. Thus Rodol was again able to become ruler over Wallachia—but not for long.

The Krim-Tartars with an army of thirty thousand, and Jeremy with an army of about half that strength, were soon ready to contest Rodol's security, and thus Meldri, who had been sent against them with only thirteen thousand men, realized in time that it were best to retire towards Rothenthurm, a pass in the Transylvanian Alps called in the Hungarian "Verres Torony." The great superiority of the enemy's numbers in the ratio of forty-five to thirteen made this retreat most difficult, harassed at the best of times by the enemy's scouts. It was going to be a terribly anxious time now, and there was one night in particular when Meldri, Smith and all concerned had all the excitements which any veterans might desire.

They had come to a wood, and it had been necessary to hack their way through, cutting down with great expedition the thwarting trees which in turn would delay the pursuers. Early in the following morning there came a thick fog, and amidst this Meldri's army unexpectedly burst upon over two thousand of the enemy loaded with pillage and driving cattle. Meldri succeeded in slaying or taking prisoners most of the party from whom also information was obtained of Jeremy's position, and that the Krim-Tartars were not far from the latter.

Before long Jeremy's own unassisted force of about the same strength as Meldri's came up, whilst the latter was still trying to hew his way forward; and it is here

that John Smith's ingenuity was again to be employed with valuable effect. This consisted of another exhibition of fireworks contrived as follows. Two or three hundred tree-trunks were "accommodated . . . with wilde fire, upon the heads of lances." Then charging the enemy at night, the trunks were fired, blazing forth in such a way as to cause Jeremy's horses to stampede and rout the Turkish army.

Unfortunately this was but a temporary success, for when Meldri's troops were within three leagues of Rothenthurm, they were so beset by the forty thousand Krim-Tartars that it was a question either of making a stand and fighting or being cut to pieces in flight. On this eighteenth day of November, 1602, therefore was fought out that most desperate and unequal Battle of Rothenthurm in a valley "betwixt the riuver of Altus and the mountaine," when "the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty." On that day at sunrise were revealed the Tartar flags, and "it was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the Forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloody blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter."

Meldri's defence was arranged thus : at the foot of the mountain, on his flanks and in front, he had stuck into the ground sharp stakes whose heads had been hardened by fire, and amongst these stakes were dug many holes. Amid them also were placed his infantry, who were to retire as required. By this time Meldri's army had been reduced to eleven thousand during the hurried withdrawal. The Tartars began the battle with a general shout, the beating of drums, the sounding of oboes and the displaying of every ensign. The Christian

cavalry at once resisted and compelled the enemy to retire, the Tartars "darkening the skies with their flights of numberless arrowes." Thus a "bloudie slaughter" continued for over an hour till the enemy's matchless numbers caused the Christians to withdraw within their stake defence according to plan.

The Tartars now charged in massed strength, but horse and man came to the ground as soon as the stakes were encountered and were immediately so mangled by Meldri's army that the latter with a loud shout claimed victory. Several field pieces planted on the rising mountain also dealt heavy execution amongst the enemy, yet there was no justification for optimism, and against such overwhelming numbers the result was already foredoomed. Meldri therefore appreciated that the only course now was to make a terrible attempt to cleave a way through the enemy or die in the attempt. Accordingly he gathered his remaining troops together in one small body, gave them the order to charge, and then for the next half-hour they smashed their way ahead until the Krim-Tartars, Turks and janizaries simply deluged them with irresistible weight and the Christian effort was foiled utterly. Defeat, unmistakable and complete, had ended that fateful day ; though the Krim-Tartars and Turks had been made to pay dearly, in spite of their superiority. On that ghastly field of battle were Christians and Mohammedans headless, limbless, all cut and mangled, the dead of both sides aggregating nearly thirty thousand. On the Christian side many a gallant nobleman, many valorous colonels, captains, brave gentlemen and soldiers breathed their last, and among the latter were some Englishmen.

"Give mee leave," wrote Smith, "to remember the names of our owne Country-men with him in these exploits, that as resolutely as the best, in the defence of Christ and his Gospell, ended their dayes, as Baskerfield,

Hardwicke, Thomas Milemer, Robbert Mullineux, Thomas Bishop, Francis Compton, George Davison, Nicholas Williams, and one John a Scot, did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies, in testimonie of their mindes ; only Ensigne Carleton, and Sergeant Robinson escaped."

Meldri, with only about thirteen hundred of his cavalry, swam the river. He managed to escape, but the rest were either drowned, slain or taken prisoners. His friend and subordinate, John Smith, was left on the battlefield among the dead and dying where, worn out, wounded, and groaning with pain, he was at last discovered by the Tartars. Twenty-seven years after this battle Smith wrote concerning Tartars these words : "the better they finde you, the worse they will use you, till you doe agree to pay such a ransome, as they will impose upon you." Thus when amid the corpses and gasping bodies they found him still breathing, and by his armour as well as his apparel that it were more profitable to obtain his ransom than to despatch him in death, they led him away prisoner with many others. It is from this stage that we enter upon yet another phase of this remarkable life, so that there is not a dull hiatus to chronicle.

Perceive, then, that this twenty-two year old youth, having tasted all the other possible experiences of a whole crowd of adventurers, must now suffer that most dreaded of all punishments, the hopeless condition of a Mohammedan's drudge. It is true that until such time as his wounds were healed Smith was treated well by his captors ; but thereafter he who so heartily loved freedom and life was sold as a slave in the market-place of a Danube town, probably Tchernavoda. His limbs and wounds were examined by Eastern merchants as if they were purchasing a beast ; and in order to see if he were strong they caused other slaves to wrestle with him. It chanced

that Smith was eventually purchased by a certain pasha who sent him south to Adrianople, *en route* for Constantinople, as a present to the pasha's mistress, a Mohammedan woman named Charatza Tragabigzanda. Marched in file, chained by the neck to nineteen hundred other prisoners, this was how the enthusiast for travelling first sighted Constantinople's minarets.

Tragabigzanda took a liking to Smith and exhibited in him unusual interest. She showed him to her friends, and, being something of a linguist, was able to converse with him in Italian. The pasha had sent with the prisoner a chit to say that this young man was a Bohemian lord whom the Turk had captured with his own hand. When Smith protested that the pasha's story was untrue, that he never saw the Turk until the purchase in the market-place ; and, further, that her slave was no Bohemian noble but an Englishman who had won his promotion by adventures, she sought out those who could speak English, French and Dutch. Smith was then able to relate as many of his experiences as he deemed necessary.

The net result of all this was that the woman's heart was moved to compassion, and she feared, having no use for him, her mother might sell him. Tragabigzanda consequently decided on sending him to her brother, Timor Pasha, who ruled over territory situated between the Caspian and Black Seas. The obvious question here arises as to whether there was something more than friendship between the two. No definite answer can be given. That he possessed good looks we know from the contemporary portrait of Smith already mentioned ; that he was by no means unattractive to the opposite sex is well established, for this was only one of four cases where a female ministered to him. It is arguable that the Mohammedan was romantically in love with him, either because of his youth or for the reason that he

was so different from the men she had hitherto known.

Was Smith susceptible to a woman's charms, or was he immune? To the end of his days he remained a bachelor, and yet there comes out in his writings an attitude which I interpret rather as chivalrous courtesy than as amorous interest. To me it seems likely that, had he been in love with her, the inclination during subsequent years would be not to perpetuate her name in the most public manner, but to retain the secret within his own breast. What we find actually is that Smith was anxious to recognize his indebtedness to all four women who rendered him kindness at important crises of his career. When in 1624 he was bringing out his *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, he wrote in the dedication to the Duchess of Richmond "that heretofore honorable and vertuous Ladies, and comparable but amongst themselues, haue offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts I haue felt relieve from that sex. The beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a slae to the Turkes, did all she could to secure [i.e. to succour] me . . ." So mindful was he of this kindness that when, long years after his European experiences, he was exploring and surveying the New England coast, he did not hesitate to call that promontory Cape Tragabigzanda, which was unfortunately renamed Cape Anne, by which it is still known. It is true that he wrote concerning the subsequent treatment which he experienced in 1603, that "all the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thralldome was only the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage." Whilst it is possible to read into these words some sentimental attachment, I suggest that, having regard to his strictly friendly relationship with another of her sex who was in love with him, Smith was more mindful of his own adventurous career than

of feminine affection. The matter will be found treated further in a later chapter.

Tragabigzanda's brother, Timor, was pasha over an area that can be roughly indicated, though not exactly located. It was known as Nalbrits in the country of Cambia, and by following Smith's long journey by land and sea we have a fairly good idea as to where that region was placed.



CHAPTER VII

SLAVE OF SLAVES



ND certainly this was for Smith a *via dolorosa*, for, the further east he was taken, the less likely did it seem he would ever receive that liberty and freedom of movement which to his independent character meant so much. As he expressed it, he possessed on this travel "little more libertie than his eyes judgement": yet with his customary ability to observe, he noted where the country was "most plaine, fertile, and delicate," or there were "townes with their short towers."

From Constantinople he was sent to Varna, that historic port where a century and a half previously Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, had been defeated and slain by the Turks. Thence he proceeded by ship across the Black Sea till the Crimea was sighted. Entering the Straits of Kertch, the Turkish craft brought him into the Sea of Azov, whither for centuries Genoese, Venetians and Pisans had been accustomed to sail in their trading vessels. The place where he disembarked is a little obscure, but it was possibly up the River Manytch, which he calls Bruapo. The Manytch is an affluent of the Don, and after two days' journey from the river's head he reached that unidentified country of Cambia. At Nalbrits his travel ended, for here Timor resided "in a great vast stonie Castle with many great Courts about it, invironed with high stone walls, where was quartered

their Armes, when they first subjected those Countreyes : which onely live to labour for those tyrannicall Turkes."

Now Tragabigzanda had written to her brother, Timor, on Smith's behalf so fervently that she expected the prisoner "should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a Turke, till time made her Master of her selfe." Timor, however, far from being favourably influenced by his sister's commendation, at once proceeded to deal with him drastically. Within an hour he caused Smith to be stripped naked, his head and beard shaved "so bare as his hand." A great iron ring, with a sickle-shaped shaft, was riveted around his neck ; a coarse hair coat was placed on his back, and he found himself one of many Christian slaves compelled to suffer that which not even "a dog could have lived to endure." Nor was that all. Because he was the latest recruit, he "was slave of slaves to them all."

In the past many Hungarian, Russian, Wallachian and Moldavian slaves had either been ransomed or, because the ransom price was set intolerably high, these Christians had been compelled to conceal their true rank. The only hope was that some Christian agent might come and redeem them, if not with money then by exchanging man for man. "Those Agents knowing so well the extreme covetousnesse of the Tartars, doe use to bribe some Jew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them againe to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransome."

No such luck came to Smith. He had often talked over with his fellow slaves the practicability of making escape, yet not even those who had been there a long while could conceive of any possible means : "but God beyond mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapnd" to Smith. And thus we come to another of those culminating points in his varied career. He was now being employed as a

thresher in a big field three or four miles away from Timor's house. On this particular day that pasha had come on a visit of inspection, and took occasion to revile and beat the young man with such severity that the latter altogether lost his temper ; and thus "forgetting all reason, he beat out" Timor's brains with a threshing-bat. Then, having realized that, whatever now happened, a worse condition could never befall him, Smith decided to get away whilst the going was good. Whether he was guilty of murder, or of justifiable homicide, let the judgment of the casuists and lawyers decide. He was in too great a hurry even to consider that aspect ; and, having arrayed himself in his master's clothes, he hid Timor's body under some straw, filled a knapsack full of corn, closed the doors, mounted the pasha's horse, and galloped away into the desert "at all adventure." He was now off on another long travel, and this westward trek through a heart-breaking wilderness, with his slave-collar still encircling his neck, once again emphasizes the adventurous side of Smith's early manhood.

Whether during the period of his captivity Smith ever got so far as the Caspian Sea is uncertain, though he obtained a certain amount of detailed information regarding its features, which he could never have learned in boyhood from the globes of geographers. Indeed, the knowledge he possessed of his whereabouts was so slight that for several days he wandered about aimlessly. Luckily he met no one, otherwise his stolen liberty would have been suddenly taken from him. His future seemed hardly encouraging at the present and too full of uncertainty. Away to the north stretched endlessly the vast Russian continent. To the east lay the whole of Asia. To the south-west was the Black Sea, with the Caspian to the south-east, whilst immediately in front of him were the Russian steppes, as little comforting as the sandy Sahara. What to do ? Whither to direct

his course? That was the problem which worried him. But, when it happens that human travail and ingenuity reach their limitations, then comes the time for super-human direction; and Smith was at his wits' ends. "Being even as taking leave of this miserable world," he wrote, "God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large territories, and is generally knowne among them by these markes."

Now the story of trade-routes is largely the history of the universe. Just as Columbus, in seeking a way to the East Indies, discovered the New World for which Smith was presently to contribute much, so the roadways into Europe had already shown themselves long since to be the keys of European history. From Asia into Europe there is if we begin at the extreme north practically no land route until we get south of the Ural Mountains. But between there and the Caspian are those steppes or plains along which in ancient days came the Huns whose invasion brought about the foundation of Venice. The position of Astrakhan at the northern end of the Caspian was of tremendous strategic importance in the commercial world before a sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope was found to India or even greatly used. From Astrakhan westwards the overland road across Southern Russia to Europe brought Eastern trade in caravans, as it had done since time immemorial.

Now where this great way was crossed there was planted a substantial sign-post, "and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the Cryms Country, is marked with a halfe Moone, if towards the Georgians and Persia, a blacke man, full of white spots; if towards China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards Muscovia, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habi-

tation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne."

Smith therefore followed the cross which pointed towards Russia, very conscious that the figure engraved on his iron collar would prove to any person met with that here was one of Timor's escaping slaves. For sixteen days he thus travelled in fear and torment until he came to a garrisoned city on the Don, where the Governor listened to the tale of the Englishman's experiences, loosed him from the irons and treated him so well that Smith thought himself "new risen from death." There was also a second instance of a kind woman, "the charitable Lady Callamata" who "largely supplied his wants." From here he proceeded with letters of recommendation from the Governor and thus reached beyond the River Dnieper to the confines of Lithuania, having travelled with the trans-Russian caravan convoys. In like manner he was conducted south-west again through the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia till he found himself once more in Transylvania and on the north side of those Alps through which lay that Pass of Rothenthurm of bitter memory : for now he was in the city of Hermanstadt, which but sixty years later was to fall into the Turks' hands, where it was to remain until thirty years should have elapsed.

Thus, at last, after many wanderings all round the compass Smith was back in pretty much the locality where his bondage had begun. Throughout this lengthy travelling across Russia he had been treated with the utmost respect and hospitality, each Governor giving him a present and passing him on to the next Governor, seeing that they themselves were just as probable to be "subject to the like calamity." He had gathered such a detailed amount of knowledge as few contemporaries possessed concerning the poverty-stricken Russian countries, where the only roads consisted of the routes by which the trade caravans made their passage, some-

times being of nothing better than fir-trees laid over the bogs. Smith evidently enjoyed this travel experience, and his keen eyes did not fail to take in the characteristics of a country where there existed only two classes—the rulers and the serfs.

In Transylvania Smith met with so many of his old friends that except for his desire to see England again, after all these events, he would have remained. But he must always be on the move, and so “being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy,” the happy warrior and ex-slave carried on northwards through Hungary by Tokay and Kashau, thence through Moravia to Prague in Bohemia, and so farther north still into Saxony till he reached Leipzig. There can be no doubt but that he was thoroughly revelling in all this journeying, seeing so many cities and fresh scenes. It was only just a year since that dreadful Battle of Rothenthurm, and yet how much had happened! How replete had been every one of those twelve months! If a twentieth-century Englishman had passed through one-tenth of those rare experiences he would be the lion of all London, his portrait in every journal, his lecture-hall would be crowded, his published account read eagerly. America would send for him, the radio would shout his name across from ocean to ocean, the cinema films would still further make him known as a superman whose deeds and adventures were almost past belief.

And yet this is he whose career has been overshadowed by the reputation of many a contemporary not fit to be mentioned in the same category with him. For, of all untrustworthy things in the realm of human affairs, few are less reliable than popularity. Let a man achieve the impossible, let him go through fire and water; let him next make one big mistake or even seem to err, then for the rest of his career the only halo that remains visible to the public eye is a suspicious cloud, murky and

dubious : for history shows that there are no more savage iconoclasts than the hero-makers. Just because later in his life John Smith made enemies in connection with colonial administration, the world failed to remember the man as a whole, and thrust the idol down to be broken and forgotten.

But, of all his multifarious experiences throughout a full life, it would be difficult to think of any which gave him deeper joy than that which befell him at Leipzig : for here with a dramatic intenseness he was to meet once more with his beloved leaders, Prince Sigismund and Colonel Meldri, soldiers all, who had been through the toil and moil of campaigning together. But the affection and admiration were mutual, and there was to be on the part of the Prince a very practical expression. Meldri, you will recollect, had barely escaped death and drowning when he plunged with his horse into that River Alt ; Smith had been reckoned among the myriads slain. It was therefore a doubly loaded joy that this reunion should come about. And since Smith now had apparently the desire to get back home, Sigismund in full gratitude for past service rewarded him with fifteen hundred ducats of gold and furnished him with the following safe conduct pass, which is so significant as to deserve printing in full :

SIGISMUND BATHORI, by the grace of God Duke of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia [Vandalorum], Earl of Anchard, Salford and Growenda ; to all, who shall read or hear this letter, we make known that we have granted leave and permission to John Smith, an English Gentleman, Captain of 250 soldiers under the most honourable and distinguished Henry Volda, Earl of Meldri, Salmaria and Peldoia, Colonel of 1000 horsemen and 1500 infantry during the Hungarian war and in the provinces aforesaid under our authority ; whose service has shewn itself deserving of all praise and everlasting remembrance towards us, as a man who fought valiantly for religion and country.

Wherefore out of our good will and in accordance with military practice we have released him of his service, and have granted him for his banner the design and description of three Turks' heads, which with his own sword before the town of Regal in single combat he did overcome, slay and decapitate in the Province of Transylvania.

But fortune being changeable and contradictory, this same person by chance and accident in the Province of Wallachia, in the year of our Lord 1602, the 18th day of November, together with many others, nobles as well, as also certain other soldiers, was carried away prisoner by the lord pasha of Cambia in the Tartary country, by whose harshness he was induced to do the best possible for his escape, and he carried out that plan, and by the help of Almighty God he set himself free and returned to his fellow soldiers : of whom we have discharged him and this he has been given in witness thereof, in order that he may enjoy greater freedom of which he is deserving, and now sets out for his own most sweet country.

We request therefore of all our dearest and nearest, dukes, princes, earls, barons, governors of towns or ships in this territory and of any other provinces in which he shall endeavour to come, that this captain may be permitted to pass freely without hindrance. Which doing with all kindness we shall always do the like for you.

Sealed at Leipzig [Lesprizia] in Misen the 9th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1603.

With the proper privilege of
his Majesty



SIGISMUND BATHORI.

Thus furnished with a pass to proceed anywhere, and possessing the equivalent of some hundreds of pounds in gold, could Smith proceed straight back to England ? Could he bid farewell to travel, sightseeing, fighting and adventure ? The temptation was too great : he was still urged by his untamable desire for knowledge. The world to him was like some fascinating book which had to be read. He decided therefore to spend his money seeing those few bits of the European continent on which so far his eyes had not alighted : and, like the incorrigible

tourist that he was, he set forth and visited Dresden, Magdeburg, Brunswick, Mainz, the Rhine valley, Worms, Spires, Strasburg.

This completed his tour through Germany, and next he passed once more into France, had a look at Nancy in Loraine, went on to Paris, thence south-west to Orleans, did a trip down the Loire to Angers and Nantes, and of course found a port irresistible : for the sight of a ship suggested still further venturing and knowledge. At Nantes he embarked in a vessel that was bound for Spain, and in this manner he reached Bilbao, whence he tramped on to see Burgos, with its superb Gothic cathedral and that castle which later (in 1812) was besieged by the British. Spain, so noted for its military and colonial zeal, the home of so many explorers, could not fail to appeal to him : so from Burgos he travelled south-west to Valladolid (Spain's capital before that honour was held by Madrid), but especially the city must have thrilled him because it was here that Columbus had died. Smith's next call was to see the Escorial, which had been completed only twenty years previously. The fact that this monastery-palace had been built in pursuance of a vow made by Philip II at the Battle of St. Quentin (1557) could not but cause Smith, so recently saved from a warrior's death, to contemplate it with emotion.

Madrid held him for a time, and then there was Toledo; but further on awaited him Ciudad Real with its noble walls. Cordova's city, whose marvellous Moorish mosque—one of the most beautiful buildings in the world—was another reminder of the young man's enemies the Turks ; Seville, with its great cathedral ; Xeres, with its Moorish castle ; Cadiz, which Raleigh and Essex had sacked only eight years previously, where Drake in 1587 had burnt the Spanish shipping—all these sights and wonders were completing Smith's education. And then he must, of course, push on to San

Lucar de Barrameda, whence Columbus had sailed on his third voyage. Eventually Smith found himself at Gibraltar having, as he remarked, become "thus satisfied with Europe and Asia." It was at this port he learned that there was some chance of fighting in Barbary where dwelt the cruel Moors. This, in spite of all that had ever happened to him hitherto, set him again on flame : he must get across to the African coast and it would at least afford him an opportunity of seeing some more unvisited territory. He therefore crossed the straits to Ceuta, thence to the north-west African port of Saffee where he became acquainted with the Captain of a French ship. With this officer and a small party he now went a hundred miles inland to see the ancient monuments of "that large renowned citie" Morocco, once the chief town in Barbary, and during the fourteenth century so large as to have a population of 700,000. But in Smith's time there was "now little remaining."

Still, there was much to interest him with its royal palace, Christian church, pinnacles, towers, fountains and so on ; and there was even as much that he there heard concerning other parts of Barbary. But Smith presently realized that these North African hostilities were scarcely worth his while, for he had a soul above mere petty squabbles. Therefore "by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murthers rather than warre, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moores," he took no part in any fighting but went back with his companions to the coast at Saffee, "and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea."

Now it is an extraordinary fact that, whenever Smith went afloat, his ship was almost certain to be plunged into some sort of excitement, of which already we have had ample instances, and here comes yet another. At Saffee he and some of his companions from the French

ship were invited aboard an English man-of-war, commanded by a Captain Merham, which happened to be lying in the roads. The invitation was accepted and the guests were treated with every welcome and kindness. This cheerful hospitality was continued so long a while that it was too late to go ashore and the visitors would have to remain aboard for the night ; and then occurred that same incident which has since so frequently happened to all manner of craft, sail and steam. The weather that evening had been perfect without a suspicion of impending trouble ; but by midnight it was blowing such a gale that Merham's ship had to slip her cable and put to sea. If you would roughly visualize her, think of a three-master square-rigged on fore- and main-mast, with a triangular lateen sail in the mizzen. In the steerage-room was the whipstaff for controlling the tiller, where also were the compass and lantern, together with the traverse board on which were marked the various courses steered during each watch. She had a bowsprit with a square sprit-sail, the younger hands were sent aloft when the topsails had to be stowed, and these were furled in a somewhat clumsy fashion, the bunt being secured to the yard by rope yarns. The cables were of rope, which could be spliced when they broke. The stern would be square with a poop deck, being low in the waist. If she were a 400-ton vessel her planking would be 4-inch, if 300-ton it would be of 3-inch, but 2-inch was the thinnest planking used. Quarter galleries were seen in the great ships, the upper decks were made of 2-inch spruce deal and various methods were used for sheathing hulls against the insidious worm.

This wind must have been a hard north-easter and before it she "spooned." This was a well-known Elizabethan seamen's word meaning to drive before the wind under bare poles, and at last it brought the ship to the Canaries. Thus that pleasant supper party was the

cause of Smith doing an involuntary voyage, but it was to yield a good deal of excitement and fill in a special gap in his otherwise complete series of happenings : since it remained for this intrepid rover who had done some pirating whilst aboard a French merchantman in the Mediterranean now to have a sea-fight whilst aboard an English ship in the Atlantic.

Before long they sighted a craft bound from Tenerife with a cargo of wine, and her they promptly took. Then three or four others loomed up which they chased, capturing two, but found little in them except a few passengers who gave tidings that there were five Dutch men-of-war around the Canaries. This information caused Merham to make for the African coast near Cape Bojador, where he descried a couple of sail. Coming up to them the English captain hailed them to know who they were, and the strangers very civilly dowsed their topsails, invited the English to come aboard and help themselves, as they were but two poor and distressed Biscayners.

Were they ? Merham realized now that he had put himself " in the lions pawes " : for the artful enemies were none other than Spanish men-of-war, representatives of England's time-honoured enemies. Merham therefore went about, but the senior Spanish ship tacked after him and came close up under the Englishman's lee quarter, fired a broadside, and luffed up to windward. The second Spaniard followed the same tactics, after which the senior, with the sound of trumpets and firing all his guns that would bear as well as muskets, crashed alongside Merham's weather, whilst the second vessel came up on the Englishman's lee quarter. So here was Smith once more in the thick of fighting, but he is far too modest to relate his own active share. It was a hot enough tussle, and in spite of that tropical sunshine " it was so darke, there was little light, but fire and smoke."

These old-fashioned tactics of bringing one ship close against the other were known as "boarding." It was effective thus to come alongside as these two Spaniards did, though the best method of boarding was to bring your ship "athwart hawse," so that the whole of your ordnance on one side could rake the enemy, whilst she could use only her chase and prow pieces. Henry VIII had caused to be compiled a book of orders for his Navy in which each captain was instructed thus : "In case you board your enemy, enter not till you see the smoke gone, and then shoot off all your pieces, your port-pieces, the piece of hail-shot, [your] cross-bow shot to beat his cage decks, and if you see his deck well rid, then enter with your best men, but first win his top in any wise if it be possible."

But such was the reception which these Spanish ships received that they stayed but a short time alongside, and left behind four or five of their men casualties, though the Spaniards then blazed away for about an hour and boarded as before. Now the old custom of using grapnels in sea-fights was not yet dead, and it was the custom for certain craft (as it had been, for instance, in the case of the late fifteenth-century Flemish carracks which traded to Spain) to carry a grapnel at the outboard end of the bowsprit. This several-armed grapnel or "kedger" was at the end of a chain and, the bowsprit of those days being steeved at a high angle, you had only to let go this chain with its grapnel on to the enemy before locking him alongside you.

This time when the enemy boarded Merham, they "threw foure kedgers or grapnalls in iron chaines, then shearing off they thought to have torne downe the grating"; but the senior ship got one of her yards so entangled in Merham's shrouds, that the latter had time to fire "crosse barre shot" and "divers bolts of iron made for that purpose," so that the enemy was holed at the bow

and it looked as if the attacker and attacked would both founder together. The senior Spaniard was therefore busily employed trying to slip his grapnels, whilst Merham was cutting away the tackling which kept the enemy's yards foul of the Englishman's shrouds. The second Spaniard, having got free, maintained a hot fire until his senior could repair that serious leak.

Before a fight the nettings were spread over the ship's deck to act as a protection against the enemy, so that what with long cloths stretched over the waist, wooden loop-holed barriers built across the ship's deck, and these nettings extended to prevent falling spars killing the crew, every effort was made to keep off intruders. In this engagement at which Smith assisted, they continued to shoot at each other from noon till six in the evening, volley for volley. During the night both enemy ships chased Merham and in the morning at close range fired "their chase, broad side, and starne" guns one after the other. This went on for another hour when the enemy "commanded Merham a maine for the King of Spaine upon faire quarter. Merham," says Smith wittily, "dranke to them and so discharged his quarter peeces."

This considerably annoyed the enemy, who now came crashing alongside once more and many of them leapt into the rigging, climbed aloft into the fighting-top and attempted to unsling the Englishman's mainsail, but they were quickly spotted by the Englishmen's muskets so that the climbers came tumbling down. It should be here mentioned that, before a fight, the commanding officer was always anxious lest the enemy's sickle-shaped bill-hooks (which were attached at the yard-arm) should in these boarding efforts cut the ties and thus cause the yards to carry away. For this reason the practice was to sling the yards in chains. But the Spaniards were now swarming on to the Englishman's decks, and about the

round house some were so hotly assailed as to be driven into the "great" cabin aft, which was then blown up, the smoke and flames being such that it seemed as if the whole ship was on fire. The Englishmen in the forecastle were likewise being so fiercely attacked that they were compelled to blow up a piece of the grating together with a good many more Spaniards.

This finally caused the rest of the enemy to hop back to their own craft with all speed, and Merham then set his hands to quench the fires by means of wet cloths and water, whilst the enemy's guns assailed the English ship hotly. Leaks were stopped with old sails ; but, when the senior Spanish ship realized his own condition and that Merham had put out his conflagration, the enemy hoisted a flag of truce. Merham, however, was having nothing of that sort and refused to entertain any parley : he "knew there was but one way with "the enemy" and would have none but the report of his ordnance, which hee did know well how to use for his best advantage."

The engagement thus continued desperately through the next afternoon and half the night, but in the darkness the Spaniards disappeared. On board the English vessel were twenty-seven slain, and sixteen wounded : but she had received a hundred and forty "great shot." As to the enemy, a wounded Spanish prisoner admitted that the senior officer's ship had lost a hundred men, and it was presumed that she was in such a parlous condition that she would sink before reaching port. Merham's vessel was able to carry on and make sail, so that she reached Santa Cruz in the Canaries. From there she made the African shore at Cape Ghir, coasted north past Mogador, and so reached Saffee again.

Smith now says laconically in his *True Travels* that "he returned into England" : but Purchas¹ adds the

¹ *Pilgrimes*, viii. chap. xi. (MacLehose Edition).

following additional particulars : “ Then understanding that the Warres of Mully Shah and Mully Sedan, the two brothers in Barbarie of Fez and Moroco (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarked himselfe for England with one thousand Duckets in his Purse.” We do not know whether it was in Merham’s vessel that he now travelled or in some English merchant ship, for there were a very few of the latter which now were trading to the north-west and west of Africa. There were, indeed, other English seafarers who were attracted to Northern Africa in a manner quite different.

History has recently repeated itself, as it always has done in the past. After the Great War came high prices and unemployment, the fighting services had to be cut down, and many of those who had fought most strenuously and bravely were no longer required by the State. Much the same sort of condition had occurred at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, which concluded a year before Smith returned to England. Prices were then high in proportion to wages, in every parish were many poor ; and, since the monasteries were gone, there was no one whose duty it was to relieve them. Those who had been wounded during the Armada actions received no pensions, but had to content themselves with begging-licences in their extreme poverty, so that they might appeal to their fellow countrymen “ to have a Christian and pitiful regard ” for one in “ his extreame want and miserie gotten in the service of our gracious Prince.”

It is true that presently the churchwardens were permitted to invite voluntary alms, and afterwards to levy a rate ; but in 1601 all the acts under this category were re-cast, the maintenance of the impotent poor and the setting of able-bodied men to labour in workhouses was entrusted in each parish to regular guardians. But that did not appeal to the English sailorman, and Smith has

a passage written in 1629 that well illustrates the new problem and the solution which was attempted by some sailors. There were only two ways open : one was to engage in piracy, the other was to take part in that overseas trading and colonial expansion which now was just beginning to seize the English mind with an entirely new zeal.

Smith arrived back in the year 1604, having been away from England continuously ever since the year 1600, and during that time, which had been so momentous to him, great events had occurred at home. The Tudor period had ended, the Stuart dynasty had begun. In matters of religion there was grave unrest, the Puritan influence was to cause three hundred to emigrate into Holland and, presently, in 1620 the "Mayflower" was to sail across the Atlantic—thus, religious troubles at home were to give an impetus to overseas colonization. The old merry, self-contented England was gone : everywhere there was unsettlement in politics as well as in religion, and the newly discovered lands on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean were already a strong magnetism. In the English life at home there were, too, all sorts of under-currents, and the Gunpowder Plot was not the only conspiracy that was hatched. Raleigh's advocacy of war with Spain had increased his unpopularity with James I and, great soldier though he was, Sir Walter had been committed to the Tower on a conviction of complicity in plotting.

Everywhere, then, there was change and in some places decay : it was not the England Smith had known in his school days. But the East India Company had been inaugurated which some day was to lead up to a British Indian Empire. For the present, as in religion and politics and national aspirations, there was that general restlessness which is usually the prelude to important settlements in thought and action. And

when in 1604 James made a naval peace with Spain, after all these years of international rivalry, gone was the leading motive which had animated English sailors through generation after generation.

"After the death of our most gracious Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory," wrote Smith, "our Royall King James, who from his infancie had reigned in peace with all Nations, had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had ; those that were poore, and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats ; some, because they became slighted of those for whom they had got much wealth ; some, that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty ; some vainly, only to get a name ; others, for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill ; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats."

It was thus that these hardy veterans, compelled to use the sea somehow, drifted south to Barbary and taught the Moors a good deal in regard to square-rigged seamanship, becoming so invaluable that certain of these rose to the rank of pasha. But this decadence, having once set in, these otherwise able seamen became quarrelsome, jealous, treacherous ; "and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst Jewes, Turks, Moores, and whores." And the final condition was that they lived ashore, gave up going to sea, and were slaves subject to the Moors of Barbary.

From this Smith was careful to draw the following lesson :

"I could wish Merchants, Gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships, not to bee sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment ; for neither Souldiers nor Sea-men can live without meanes, but necessity will force them to steale ; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Those titles of Sea-men

and Souldiers," he adds with justifiable pride, " have
beene most worthily honoured and esteemed, but now
regarded for the most part, but as the scumme of the
world."

And for this pathetic anti-climax Smith had the following remedy: "Regaine therefore your wonted reputations, and endevour rather to adventure to those faire plantations of our English Nation," where even the poorest person would get "more in one yeare, than you by piracie in seven." Smith's far-sightedness, his humanity, his deep sense of patriotism were no mere empty vapourings, but the expression of his own single-mindedness and honesty. He had seen so much of men and things, he had mixed so considerably among sailors and soldiers, he realized so intently the different order of affairs and the fresh outlook, with the wonderful possibilities which were offered by the New World. Hitherto he had sought out wars wherever they happened to exist, and even the rumour of hostilities had always attracted him irresistibly. Everything now was for peace and reconstruction and overseas settlement. And, notwithstanding all his love of roving, Smith had the good sense to realize all this, to readjust his mentality and activity.

It is from now therefore that we enter upon a totally different phase of his career, in which fighting gives way to planting, and adventuring becomes rather pioneering on a grand scale.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COLONIAL IDEA



N the mind of every man who is a big personality and driving force, there lies some outstanding idea which labels him and distinguishes him from the rest of his fellows ; and this second part of John Smith's life is dominated by the plantation notion which was to colour the rest of his career. It was not that this well-travelled Englishman had “ a bee in his bonnet,” but rather that he saw the fullness of a grand opportunity and was resolved that this should be manifested to others. And there can be no doubt but that, looking back on his past, he regarded those early experiences, which we have noted, as a fitting preparation for his great constructive work.

“ The Warres in Europe, Asia, and Affrica,” he wrote in the year before he died, “ taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in Virginia and New-England, in America.” With a character such as his, with all his landfaring and seafaring, all his experience of handling difficult situations as they arose, it was inevitable that he must distinguish himself if ever he found himself involved in a big problem of pioneering enterprise far away from headquarters and immediate instructions. It would, indeed, be impossible to conceive of a more drastic early training than his.

The growth of this colonial idea is interesting. During

the sixteenth century parochialism with its confined outlook received its first shock when Europe began to send its emigrants to the West Indies. Columbus setting out from Spain had discovered the Bahamas, Cuba, Dominica and Haiti ; and thus at the beginning of the sixteenth century to the last mentioned island had come the first Spanish settlers. In spite of any Papal regulation or any Spanish exclusiveness ships from England also had presently burst into the Caribbean. Those Englishmen who visited Hispaniola (otherwise Haiti), such as Ralph Lane in 1585, reported on the infinite riches which this island possessed, and set the minds of those at home thinking. During that sixteenth century had come the beginnings of the capitalist conception and the introduction of moneyed power ; of which the famous Fugger family on the European continent were to be the leaders.

MERCHANTS who visited distant markets with cargoes in ships needed this capital for their enterprise. For example, in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign English merchants made a memorial to the Queen setting forth the benefits that would accrue from a direct overseas trade to India, got together the necessary capital, fitted out ships, and thus formed the first English East India Company. In a similar manner others with wealth joined together and got permission from the Queen "to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian Prince or people." The territory of the New World opened up quite new possibilities for employing existing capital in the hands of English noblemen and gentlemen. Unlike Spain, England had comparatively little hoarded actual bullion, seeing that she possessed no silver mines. But she possessed men of gold who were chiefly tillers of the soil, or seamen : the two essential classes for the colonial idea.

And it was because of the poverty in England mentioned in the last chapter, not less than those political and religious uncertainties, that there was ready at hand a large body of potential planters inclined to exchange bad conditions for better prospects. Additional to this was the fact that the sea and ships were fast becoming more attractive as a result of the Armada's defeat and other Elizabethan achievements afloat ; and, with this fresh means of finding a road to new markets for the English wool, there was already a way for attracting into England some of that bullion which had come from the west side of the Atlantic.

There was yet another influence, and that was to be traced to Richard Hakluyt, whose period is sufficiently indicated by the dates, 1552-1616. This geographer, lecturer and compiler of the *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* was to do much by his teaching to make his countrymen perceive the possibilities of the sea ; at a time when ignorance was dark and abysmal, he was the first to introduce such articles as maps, globes and spheres into the common schools. In a word, then, by the year 1604, when Smith arrived back home from his very practical study of European geography, the time was ripe for inducing both rich men with money to invest, and poor men with their knowledge of pasturing and tillage, to get enthusiastic about transatlantic territory.

Elizabeth, with all her zeal for the country's welfare, had on occasions positively acted in restraint of trade, as for instance by her royal proclamation in the year 1601, when by reason of "the experience of manie yeares" hostility she now prohibited "all and every one, of what condition realme or land soever, none excepted, to lade, ship, carry or transport by sea, directly or indirectly, under what coulor or pretence soever, any ships, goods, wares, or marchandises, for or to any haven, towne,

citie or place " in Spain or Portugal.¹ But with James I anxious to be on friendly terms towards Spain an entirely new impetus was given to sea-borne trade.

To Smith, with his belief that "truly there is no pleasure comparable to that of a generous spirit ; as good employment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens and Infidels ; to see daily new countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems . . ." life in England on his return from the south must have seemed a very dull affair, and not to be tolerated for long. Practically the only corner of Europe that he had not visited was Ireland, if we except Denmark and the Scandinavian countries. Now Ireland had recently become of much greater interest to Englishmen and attracted English settlers. The Tudors had steadily pursued the policy of taking land from tribal chiefs and allotting it to these settlers, with the result that rebellions and assassinations, massacres and burnings had followed.

Whether it was in the hope of engaging in further adventures, or with a view to settling there, cannot be ascertained, but Smith now went on a walking tour in that island. His enemy Wingfield is responsible for the statement that "it was proued to his face, that he begged in Ireland like a rogue, without a lycence." But, apart from this being a prejudiced statement from an unfriendly source, it is a distortion of the truth. Smith was not without means and he had brought home a thousand ducats, part of which was doubtless his share in that capture of the three craft off the Canaries. It is a further evidence of his financial soundness that he was able to spend between the year 1604 and 1609 "more than fие hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patent, and neere as much more about New England &c."² Smith

¹ *Law and Custom of the Sea*, by R. G. Marsden (Navy Records Society), i. p. 315.

² *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, Bk. 4.

cannot possibly have gone through Ireland in the condition of a pauper, but of one who was still anxious to see new sights.

Certainly he let very little time elapse, on his return from Africa, before getting to work on the overseas settlement idea ; for we have his own statement that " In the yeare 1605 Captaine Ley, brother to that noble Knight Sir Oliver Ley, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River Weapoco, wherein I should have beene a partie ; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried : and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could." The " Weapoco " is that great River Cyapock which to-day forms the boundary between French Guiana and Brazil. It was only in 1500 that Brazil had been discovered and that the Portuguese had taken possession of it by the confirmation of the Papal Bull of 1506. Raleigh had gone in 1595 to look for gold in Guiana, and had left behind Francis Sparrow, who spent the next fifteen years in that locality and then came home to die. And it was but the chance of Ley dying that John Smith did not go colonizing in South instead of North America.

Colonization throughout history has proceeded along various lines. The Greek idea was that of a community which was united to the mother state by sentiment and religion, yet politically independent. The Roman colony was rather an administrative unit of the empire and of military origin. The enterprise of the Jesuits in Paraguay in the direction of a Christian Utopia, the factory system of the East India Company, the penal settlements in Australia are all separate examples of the basis of colonial organizations. The Spanish colonial efforts in the New World consisted in governing the natives in order to provide security for trade, but in actual practice this consisted in protecting the mines and (in Haiti, for example) treating the natives with cruel and murderous treachery.

In those early English colonies called plantations we have at the beginning a number of enthusiasts willing to pool their wealth and in many cases their lives. The motive was partly with a view of presenting Christianity to the heathens or "savages," but partly in the expectation of obtaining good interest on the capital expended. The method was to obtain letters-patent from the Sovereign giving permission to discover and take possession of fresh territory. This done, it remained only to collect the gentlemen, carpenters, labourers, boys, minister of religion and the surgeon, with all firearms, tools and so on. A small squadron of ships was then hired, and the Company (with its headquarters in England) issued its instructions to those entrusted with the responsibility of establishing the enterprise in the strange land that was to be the objective. At home the Company was administered by those who to-day would be called a Board of Directors : those who represented them in the strange land were selected to form a council over whom was the President. The great weakness of this scheme was that the latter were awkwardly restricted in their initiative and development ; for, when the council on the spot were possessed of more complete information regarding local problems, and there was long delay in getting communications back to England and out to the new land, it was inevitable that friction and misunderstandings, jealousies and suspicions should arise. The controlling board, or Court, at home, consisting of members who in many cases had never been abroad, might find themselves laying down a certain policy much resented by those on the spot who knew better.

But how it came about that Smith should proceed rather to Virginia than the West Indies must now be explained. The first English book mentioning America appeared in 1511, but it was Richard Eden's translations and compilations, printed at London in 1553

and 1555, which were the forerunners of our great discoveries by sea. By narrating the deeds of other nations, especially of the Spaniards, by exciting an interest in matters connected with India, and then concerning that "newe India" across the Western Ocean, Eden was creating in the minds of the English gentry and merchants an overwhelming longing to take forth ships and investigate these "mynes of golde," this "fyshyng for perles," all "the great rychesse," the wonderful trees, fruits and plants, the "mynes of siluer." By the year 1555 all who could read English and were able to obtain Eden's *A treatyse of the newe India*, and *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, had for their benefit opened out an introduction to a kind of marine Fairyland : the summons from the west became irresistible, and when Drake first visited the West Indies he already had the opportunity of obtaining from these two books all the information which any English publication could provide.

But if the arrogant exclusiveness of the Spaniards made it difficult, and at first impossible, for imaginative and ambitious Englishmen to inaugurate a plantation to the south of the Caribbean, or even in Florida, there was a possibility of collision if the Englishmen went right north, seeing that Jacques Cartier in 1534 had landed on the Gaspé coast of Quebec and taken possession of it in the King of France's name. It therefore followed that North America, somewhere between the St. Lawrence River in the north and Florida in the south, suggested a suitable locality for an English wedge.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the first to receive a patent from Queen Elizabeth. After taking possession of Newfoundland, he was drowned in a gale off that coast. But the patent then passed to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who sent out expeditions which explored the sea-board from Florida to Newfoundland as a result of

persistent enterprise. It was by Elizabeth's direction that the coast touched at was presently called Virginia. After a hundred men had been taken out in 1585 by Raleigh's relative, Sir Richard Grenville, and left on Roanoke Island, the ship had sailed home for further supplies. In the meantime had arrived Drake, who, at their own request, brought these pioneers away ; thus, when Grenville once more came west, he found his people had inexplicably disappeared, so he sailed again, leaving behind a few men as guard, though they were never seen again. In 1587 Raleigh sent another party consisting of 150 men and a few women to Roanoke Island also. But when four years later this scene was visited from England nothing was found of these planters but relics of their possessions. Still again, in 1602, Raleigh sent out one more expedition, but this also was unsuccessful. It will, however, be necessary to deal with this in a later chapter.

Virginia, at this dawn of the seventeenth century, signified not just that territory to which the modern state of the same name belongs : it was rather a name for an indefinite area between French and Spanish regions. "Virginia," as Smith defined it, "is a Country in America, that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean. On the South lyeth Florida : on the North nova Francia. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne." And that part which was planted by him and his colleagues in 1607 "is vnder the degrees 37. 38. and 39." And, notwithstanding all the ill-luck which hitherto had occurred, there was still in England a great longing to make a permanent settlement on the North American continent.

It was in the year 1606 that the Royal Virginia Company, after much difficulty received its patent. As to Smith's share in the promotion of this syndicate we have

his own statements that " I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to Virginia," and that it " cost me neare 5 yeares work, and more than 500 pounds of my owne estate." In W. Simmonds's *The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia*, published at Oxford in 1612, and compiled from statements by various officers of that colony, Thomas Studley, one of the "gentlemen" who was the "cape-merchant" in charge of the cargo, claims that Captain Bartholomew Gosnold or Gosnoll who was "the first mover of this plantation, hauing many yeaeres solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants ; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Maister Edward maria Wingfield, Captaine Iohn Smith, and diverse others, who depended a yeare vpon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Merchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patent, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare ; and by that time, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tonns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine Christopher Newport, a Marriner well practised for the westerne parts of America. But their orders for gouernement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in Virginia."

This Royal Virginia Company, with its Council of thirteen in London had two departments, one of which dealt with the Northern (afterwards called the New England) project, and the second with the Southern or Virginia enterprise, and by this means both London and that ardent maritime West of England could both take

a keen interest. "The Letters-Patents," writes Smith in the sixth book of his *Generall Historie*, "granted by his Majesty in 1606. for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34. to 44. which was diuided into two parts ; namely, the first Colony and the second : the first was to the honourable City of London, and such as would aduenture with them to discouer and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The second was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol, Exeter and Plimoth, &c. and the West parts of England, and all those that would aduenture and joine with them, and they might make their choise any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44 ; prouided there should bee at least 100. miles distance betwixt these 2 Colonies : each of which had lawes, priuileges and authoritie, for the gouernment and aduancing their seuerall Plantations alike."

With regard to this second half of the adventure it is sufficient here to say that it was organized by Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, who got both the money and the men together in 1606, so that the expedition set sail from Plymouth on the last day of May, 1607, and reached what was years afterwards called New England on August 11. But, after attempting to make a settlement, they found that winter so cold and their provisions so small that they sent back all the people but forty-five. Then, in the year 1608, Captain Popham their President having died and some supply-ships having arrived with news of Sir John Popham's death, they all returned to England from a region which they regarded "as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart."

Now to return to the London or Southern Virginia Company : before setting out, special ordinances were "set down by the King's Majesty and delivered . . . under the Privy Seal" as a guidance to those who should

form the council in the new land. But, in addition, these "captains and company" were given instructions "by way of advice" from the London headquarters, and it is important to note the gist of these as influencing the mode of the settlers' life in Virginia. Thus, having arrived off that coast, they were to search out some safe port at the entrance to a navigable river which should run furthest inland, but especially one whose arm "bendeth most toward the North-west." The reason for this emphasis was the mistaken notion that the North American continent was narrow, and that not far from the source of the eastern rivers would be found the Pacific Ocean. And in this opinion the council at home doubtless were influenced by the fact that over thirty years previously Drake on crossing the Isthmus from the Caribbean had suddenly sighted the Pacific, or "Southern Sea," as seventeenth-century seamen called it.

It was to be Captain Newport's duty to find how far that river was navigable, and after selecting a site the victuals and munitions were to be landed. Then the whole party was to be given separate duties : one section to build and fortify a storehouse for the victuals ; a second to prepare the ground, to sow the corn and roots ; a third to act as sentinels at the river's mouth lest they should be surprised by attack. If any fleet should suddenly be sighted, these sentries were to row up the river in a light boat provided. And, further, it was distinctly laid down that "you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast." But whilst one portion of the company were doing all the above, forty others under the leadership of Captains Newport and Gosnold could be employed for a couple of months exploring the river and neighbouring country.

Captain Gosnold was held in high repute at home, and it was he who, leaving Falmouth on Lady Day,

1602, had crossed the Atlantic and discovered Cape Cod with the ships "Concord" and "Dartmouth" on May 14. Afterwards he landed on what is now called Cuttyhunk Island, where he built a house and a "little fort": but he stayed here only from May 24 till June 17, when he made sail and reached Exmouth on July 23. Still, he had thus effected the first, if temporary, English settlement in New England. A round tower on the island to-day stands as a memorial to him.¹ Thus, with this achievement behind him, he was regarded in London as an expert, and his word had become a great inducement to form this Virginia Company. It was therefore not surprising that the following instruction was insisted upon: "When they do espie any high lands or hills, Captain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals."

At the back of this you will recognize that the company founders had still fresh in their minds the silver and gold which Richard Eden and others had suggested. In fact, you will find that through the seventeenth century wherever an English ship nosed her way into some strange land—Arctic regions not excepted—there was always a half expectation that gold, or at least that yellow dirt which was thought to be impregnated with the precious metal, might be located.

In these Virginia instructions the settlers were admonished to "have great care not to offend the naturals," but they could trade with them for corn. However tired the English soldiers might be, they must never allow the natives to carry their weapons. The selected "seat for habitation" must not be in a low, marshy place nor close to a forest that would act as a "covert for your enemies." The 20-ton pinnace was to be hauled up under the

¹ A photograph of this will be seen facing p. 130 in my *Whalers and Whaling*. (London, 1925.)

fort, the sails and anchors taken out of her, but a small kedge left with her. Before any private person's house was erected, the carpenters and workmen were to build the storehouse and other publick rooms. "Let them all work together first for the company and then for private men."

Nor did this London council omit scarcely any detail : they had thought out even the town planning. "And seeing order is at the same price with confusion," they decided, "it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it ; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout ; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull." So also they must take care "that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade." English sailors were not exactly as innocent as statues in a Gothic cathedral, and the chance of doing a bit of bartering on their own was likely to spoil the rate of exchange with the natives, so the mariners were forbidden to buy from the "naturals" anything whatsoever. Smith endeavours to make quite a strong case against these sailors ; for the latter had "alwayes good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses : never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces ; when wee lived upon a little corne and water." Inasmuch as they were not "adventurers" or settlers, but were under contract, this attitude of the seamen was perhaps hardly surprising.

It was further laid down that when Captain Newport returned home presently in the 100-ton ship, a full account was to be sent to London concerning the situation of the settlement, what commodities had been found, and so on, no one being permitted to come home or send

a letter except with the permission of the plantation's President and Council. Finally the instructions end with this bit of advice : "the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

By December of 1606 the expedition of three ships was ready up the Thames, the officers and men on board, and now the first successful attempt to make an English settlement in North America was to be undertaken. As we look back to that winter's day and to those little ships, we have one of the most historic incidents in the world's history ; for here, at last, was the first chapter in the building up of the United States.



CHAPTER IX

THE VOYAGE OUT



HE village of Blackwall, in the parish of Poplar, on the north bank of the River Thames, has linked its name to the development of the English Merchantile Marine and the development of maritime prosperity in a manner that is unique among seaports right down till the advent of steam.

From here have commenced voyages that were to guide the progress of civilization along certain definite and particular lines, just as certainly as the land caravan routes in earlier days affected the trend of European settlement. From the sixteenth century for the next three hundred years sailing ship after sailing ship voyaged out to the Orient and back, thus building up under the East India Company that rich section of the British Empire. Here that unique Company had its offices and superintended the building of its ships ; hither came Pepys by barge to see the largest wet dock in England and the "brave new merchantman 'Royal Oake'" that was being completed : hither also travelled Evelyn with the Duke of York to go aboard an East Indiaman and taste the "canary that had been carried to and brought from the Indies." Then, during the first part of the nineteenth century the village had earned a new reputation under the famous Wigrams and Greens when those magnificent Blackwall frigates were built and sent on their way to India, China, Australia as the most pictur-

esque merchantmen of their day. Altogether, during so many generations, this part of the Thames played a wonderful part in commercial expansion.

Therefore most fitting was it that the Virginian expedition should start from Blackwall, likewise, and the date was the 19th of December, 1606. The total number of the plantation party setting out comprised about 150. These consisted of gentlemen, one minister of religion, a surgeon, blacksmith, sailor, barber, tailor, drummer, mason, several bricklayers, a number of labourers and some boys. It will be convenient here to mention some of the most prominent gentlemen, since their names will crop up before us again. Thus the Council was to be composed of Master Edward Maria Wingfield, a liberal Catholic by religion, but one of those self-opinionated, unpractical, awkward characters never likely to get on with pioneers ; Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, the experienced discoverer ; Captain John Ratcliffe, alias Sicklemore, who also became one of Smith's chief enemies ; Captain George Kendal, who was afterwards executed for plotting ; Master George Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, not a strong character but anxious for the colony's good ; Master Robert Hunt, the patient and pious cleric ; Captain Gabriel Archer, another of Smith's enemies belonging to the officious intolerant type which succeeds better in a town than a plantation ; Captain John Martin, who did the best his weak body would permit ; and finally there was Captain John Smith, full of bursting energy but somewhat inclined to ride roughshod over others who lacked his driving force. Unquestionably Smith's was the master-mind of the party, yet his determination and strength were capable of creating in those who misunderstood him suspicion and hostility.

Captain Christopher Newport, the senior transport officer, had the 100-ton "Susan Constant" as his flag-

ship, in which seventy of the passengers travelled. The 40-tonner was the "God Speed," in which was Captain Gosnold, carrying fifty people. The 20-ton pinnace, called "Discovery," was a decked vessel of a class that ranged from fifteen to eighty tons. These three ships were square-rigged on fore and main masts, but carried no topgallant sails : just a topsail on these two masts. All three vessels set a lateen mizzen, the pinnace being a small edition of the bigger ocean-going craft, yet without those built-up decks. She was able to carry over twenty people in this voyage, her commanding officer being the above-mentioned Captain Ratcliffe.

Life aboard such vessels was not merely unpleasant but to landsmen oftentimes a terror, for no one of the latter in those days ever went to sea if he could possibly avoid it. The dividing line between them and seafarers was something real : they seemed to speak different languages. "The sea language," wrote one of Smith's contemporaries, Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, "is not soon learned, much less understood, being only proper to him that has served his apprenticeship : besides that, a boisterous sea and stormy weather will make a man not bred on it so sick, that it bereaves him of legs and stomach and courage, so much as to fight with his meat. And in such weather, when he hears the seamen cry starboard, or port, or to bide alooff, or flat a sheet, or haul home a cluling, he thinks he hears a barbarous speech, which he conceives not the meaning of."

It wasthe cook aboard these ships who, besides dressing and "delivering" the victuals was responsible for the cans, platters, spoons and lanterns, but there was a cooper who looked after the casks for the wine, beer, cider and fresh water, whilst a "swabber" washed the decks down and kept the ship clean. For food stores these ships carried such things as rice, currants, sugar, prunes, spices, oil, butter, cheese, vinegar, canary sack,

aqua-vitæ, biscuit, oatmeal, gammons of bacon, roast beef pickled in vinegar, legs of mutton minced and stewed and then packed up with butter in earthenware pots, salt fish, pork ; and as luxuries marmalade, almonds and "comfits." The principal officers were the Captain, Master, Mates, Gunners, Carpenter, Boatswain and Marshal—who saw that delinquents were punished by such severities as ducking from the yard-arm, keel-hauling and so on—but there were also the corporal, chirurgeon, steward, cook, coxswain, and trumpeter, in addition to the sailors and boys. A Lieutenant was carried in some vessels to assist the Captain and to see that both Marshal and Corporal did their duties.

The Virginia Company were accustomed to reckon that it cost them in seventeenth-century money about £20 for every planter's passage out, this sum covering food, cost of journey in the ship, and carriage of half a ton of provisions for each man. Each planter would take with him his Monmouth cap, three shirts, a waist-coat, one "suit of canvase" which cost seven shillings and sixpence, one suit "of frize," and one of cloth. Three pairs of Irish stockings were taken that had cost four shillings, four pairs of shoes, one pair of garters, one pair of canvas sheets, seven ells of canvas to make a bed and bolster for two men in Virginia, five ells of coarse canvas to make a bed at sea for two men, and one coarse rug for sea also. In addition to all these had to be provided iron pots, kettles, large frying-pans, gridirons, platters, dishes, wooden spoons and so on. There were such planters' tools as hoes, axes, handsaws, hammers, augers, chisels, gimblets, nails, hatchets and grindstones. The arms consisted of muskets and swords, there were complete suits of light armour, and the requisite amount of powder and shot was also included in the list.

Now the first essential to success in fitting out any expedition is that the personnel should be picked

carefully. Discipline, obedience cheerfully rendered, loyalty, good-fellowship, willingness to put up with inconvenience, skill on the part of the leaders in handling men, and finally an entire absence of underhand plotting : these are absolute requisites unless the enterprise is to fail. Unfortunately the three shiploads of intending colonists, in spite of all the money and effort which Smith and his fellow investors had expended, contained such a mixture of idlers, ne'er-do-weels, and incompetent craftsmen that there was all the possibility of trouble.

Neither soft-handed sons of squires, nor indolent careless labourers, nor the undisciplined mass of self-expressed opinions, nor "such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in England," nor those who "goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office," nor those who were quitting Europe merely to escape justice were likely to bring about the ideal colony or any harmonious community. Smith later on in life realized the cause of the trouble exactly ; "yet," he added with his charitableness, "grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault. For my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to looke into any mans particular [fault], but those in generall I conceiue to be true."

The shipowners were well rewarded, and there was not a little trickery amongst those who were supplying the stores. "Most of the Tradesmen in London that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings had the furnishing of the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such juggling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies their associats, that all the trash they could get in London was sent us to Virginia, they being well payed as for that which was good."

Smith later criticized the Council at home in the follow-



ing scathing terms : he wondered “ how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities : making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Jewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkemen.” And, again, he castigates that impatient London Council for their unreasonable administration. “ Much they blamed us,” he says, “ for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse ; nor did they all convert any of those [natives] we sent them to England for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea ; that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits.”

With this crew, some good men and true, some gallants “ that would doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire,” and labourers who would not work, and behind them a somewhat impatient London Council that was hard to please, the voyage was embarked upon. Owing to the unfavourable winds and bad weather, which always prevail about Christmas-time, the squadron took some time to drop down the Thames, and even then it was compelled to anchor in the Downs on January 1, 1607 (according to our reckoning, but 1606 according to the old style whose year commenced with Lady Day, March 25). Here they were held up by “ unprosperous winds,” so that for six weeks they were kept in sight of the shore. This was an unfortunate beginning and it had a bad influence on the landsmen who had no affection for the sea and its inconveniences.

During this enforced delay the character of Hunt “ our Preacher ” stands out as that of a man who was determined to bear what had to be suffered, and to offer

an example to the rest. He had come on board at Blackwall with his library, but in the Downs became so weak and ill that few expected his recovery. Although his home was but twenty miles away, nothing would persuade him to give up the voyage. In the meanwhile, during these winter gales and head winds, there was much discontent among the passengers and dissension, and there were plenty who wished they had never set out. It was Hunt's influence which did much to quench this feeling.

From the Downs a safe trip was made to the Canaries, where they took in fresh water, and then the squadron crossed the Atlantic, running before the north-east trade winds to the West Indies, and anchored off Dominica (which you will remember had been discovered one Sunday in 1493 by Columbus). It was now March 24, according to the account which Purchas obtained from the George Percy mentioned above. Here they traded with the natives in exchange for knives, hatchets, beads and copper rings. In the waters of the West Indies they were to see many sights that had never been afforded to men who had spent all their lives inland. Thus a fight between a thresher-whale and a sword-fish entertained them for a couple of hours ; and having arrived off Guadeloupe on March 27 they landed and found "a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire." Thence passing Montserrat, St. Christopher islands, they anchored at the Isle of Nevis, where Captain Newport landed all his men, with muskets and other arms, and going inland discovered some mineral springs, where they bathed.

This Nevis Island of the Leeward group, with its extinct volcano and fertile soil, was at the beginning of the seventeenth century inhabited solely by the natives, but in the year 1628 was first to be colonized by the English. Newport was on the defensive, fearing that

he might be attacked by the primitive inhabitants, but the latter were seen only in the distance and fled away from the visitors. Now life aboard those old ships was, especially in the tropics, extremely unhealthy. The hulls leaked, the stench from the bilgewater was terrible, the food was musty and the water indifferent. It is true that already in 1601 Lancaster, during his first voyage for the East India Company, had kept his crew fit by the use of lime-juice ; but it was to be a long time before this knowledge could be employed by anything like general custom.

Newport's squadron had been three months under way and he realized that the health of his people was such that they needed a few days ashore to recuperate. The sight of this sunny place, with its pleasing slopes, persuaded him to give the emigrants a change of habitation : and, notwithstanding that he has been criticized by modern writers for having thus wasted time, I have no hesitation in saying that many an officer who has commanded ships and men would have done just the same as Newport. Count von Lucknel, one of the few German naval officers who distinguished themselves during the Great War, was similarly situated in the year 1917. You may remember that he took over command of a steel sailing ship of 1571 tons, which he named the "Seeadler," though she had once been the British "Pass of Bal-maha," and in 1915 was owned by the United States of America. As the "Seeadler" she left Germany just before Christmas in 1916, sailed by the north of Scotland, down the Atlantic, round the Horn and up the Pacific. It was now July, his crew needed a stretch on land, after all those months of rolling about at sea, so he chose out a lonely island in the Society group and anchored his ship.

Newport likewise did the right thing in taking advantage of the proffered chance. "Finding this place,"

says the Percy account in Purchas, " to be so conuenient for our men to auoid diseases ¹ which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped ourselues on this Ile sixe dayes, and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men, some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing." So with fish, rabbits and fowl they fed quite well from March 28 till April 2, and, thus refreshed, set sail again the following day. On April 4 they passed the islands of Eustatius and Saba thus reaching the Virgin Isles, that most northern group of the Lesser Antilles, which Columbus had discovered only a hundred and fourteen years previously. Here this company of broken English gentlemen, wastrels, and others of Smith's party first became acquainted with the iguana, "a lothsome beast like a Crocodil" ; but they caught plenty of fresh fish ashore and so many sea-tortoises as kept the squadron in food for three days. Plenty of wild-fowl they killed also ; but could find no fresh water for drinking.

It was during this sojourn at Nevis that the life of John Smith barely escaped a tragic ending. On the way out from England there had been friction. Whether it was his masterful personality and lack of admiration for some of the other leaders ; whether the latter were jealous of his capabilities and feared that he was contemplating some big coup we cannot say definitely. But from Studley's account we know that by the time the squadron had reached the Canaries Smith was in bad odour. He was suspected of having "intended to vsurpe the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe king." Thereupon he and his immediate friends were distributed among the three ships so as to prevent any concerted action. By the time Nevis was reached it had been resolved to put Smith to death by hanging, and a "paire of gallows" was even made, but fortunately it

¹ Scurvy and dysentery were the usual accompaniments of these voyages.

was at the last decided to give him his life, though he remained under a cloud of suspicion.

After having remained at anchor in a large excellent bay from April 4 to April 6, they continued ; passed Porto Rico and reached that island of Mona which lies between Porto Rico and Haiti. It was essential to call here, for the drinking water which had been obtained at Nevis now “ did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it.” It was whilst some of the sailors were filling the water-casks that Captain Newport, the gentlemen and the soldiers marched six miles inland in the hope of finding some food to replenish the stores. They managed to kill a couple of wild boars, but the ground was so rough and rocky that the party, who were obviously not in the best of health after these long weeks of ship-life, began to feel fatigue. Many of the men now fainted on the march ; and one of the gentlemen by name Edward Brookes, of great girth and portliness, succumbed ; “ whose fat melted within him, by the great heate and drought of the Countrey. We were not able to relieue him nor ourselves ; so he died in that great extreamitie.”

On April 9, however, they went off in the “ Susan Constant’s ” boats to the rocky island of Moneta, three leagues away from Mona, where after some difficulty in landing and climbing to the top they found fowl of all kinds in plenty. “ They flew ouer our heads as thicke as drops of Haile. Besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, we were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse. Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing,” and on April 10 sailed again. Thus clearing the West Indies, leaving astern Columbus’ Hispaniola and the other Caribbean colonies of Spain, the little squadron which was to inaugurate the

first English colony in North America sailed northwards and on April 14 passed out of the tropic of Cancer, with Florida away to the westward.

A week later they got caught in what was evidently one of those Gulf Stream gales, so familiar to all who have sailed that coast, and often in history the cause of fine full-rigged ships foundering with all hands or compelled to stagger into port with most of the gear gone over the side. Newport's squadron was forced all night therefore "to lie at hull," which was the recognized seafarers' expression for heaving-to, with the "helme a ley." Newport was a little anxious as to his position and expected to be near the land. Next morning, April 22, and for the following three days they sounded but could find no bottom at a hundred fathoms. It was not until dawn on April 26 that Virginia was sighted, and that same afternoon, having closed the southern shore, the three ships found themselves off a promontory,¹ and thus entered the Chesupioc Bay, better known to us as Chesapeake.

In the contemporary account written by Thomas Studley and others of the party we see quite clearly that Newport's navigation was at fault; though when we consider what few instruments he and his pilots possessed, and the amount of leeway which these extremely unhandy craft made, we can hardly wonder that in the absence of reliable charts he should have made a bad landfall. In fact the most he could know was that vaguely somewhere to the west of a certain position the shore should loom up. "The company was not a little discomfited, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine Ratcliffe (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an

¹ See Chapter X.

extreme storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations ; for never any of them had seene that coast."

The gale had set the squadron to the north, so that it was quite a surprise when the leaders of the party found themselves off the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. After rounding the southern headland they anchored, and on this historic 26th of April, 1607, the first of these English colonizers, who had been travelling from Blackwall ever since the 19th of December, went ashore. Only about twenty or thirty landed immediately, and it is interesting that the first impressions of Virginia should be registered. In the words of the Hon. G. Percy, already quoted, "There wee landed and discouered a little way : but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees : with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof."

Now that same night, whilst the Englishmen were leaving to go aboard their craft, the native Indians came creeping down from the hills to the sea on all fours like bears, but carrying their bows in their mouths. They then shot their arrows against the visitors with such success that Captain Gabriel Archer was wounded in both hands, and one of the sailors named Matthew Morton¹ received two very dangerous wounds in his body. But Captain Newport fired at the Red Indians who, having used up all their arrows, retired into the woods.

Having thus reached Virginia, the box which had been brought out from England was opened and the orders from London were read. From this it was learned the Council for the new plantation was to consist of

¹ He afterwards recovered, and as Captain Matthew Morton, who had done exploration work on the River Amazon, he made several voyages in command to the East Indies.

Master Edward Maria Wingfield, Captain Christopher Newport, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, Captain John Smith,¹ Captain John Ratcliffe, Captain John Martin, and Captain George Kendal. These seven were instructed to choose from themselves their President who should hold office for a year and with the council govern. "Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces."

Little time was wasted, for on April 27 they began to put together their shallop or sloop. This was a small craft capable of carrying about twenty-five men, rigged with a fore staysail and sprit mainsail, the latter being laced to the mast. She was clinker-built, and in actual rig was just a very small example of the modern Thames barge. It was the practice during the sixteenth century, as you will find from the old voyages, that when a ship of say one hundred or three hundred tons was going on a long voyage of exploration around part of the globe, or up into the Arctic regions searching for the North-West passage, she should take with her a shallop, not fully constructed, but with the frames and planking all ready. The advantage of this was that the very limited deck space at the waist of the ship was not taken up. There were no boat-davits in those days, and in any case the shallop would have been a heavy top weight for the ships.

It was, however, easy enough for the carpenter and his mates to hammer together the shallop as soon as they had arrived at an estuary or bay ; and then there was at hand a serviceable little craft which could be used for tracing rivers to their source, traversing shallow bights, and generally doing the work for which the bigger ship was unsuitable. In some cases it was the sloops which were able to save lives when the big ship had been

¹ For the reason already mentioned Smith was not yet admitted to the Council.

wrecked, as for example among the Arctic ice. And even down to the early nineteenth century there were some whaling vessels which used to take even much bigger fore-and-afters out in frame to be employed locally as soon as the whaling grounds were reached. So, in the case of this Virginia expedition, they very speedily had ready a suitable boat for carrying out the London Company's instructions "to discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you may make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place."



CHAPTER X

THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN



ROM now, then, begins the creation of the Southern colony, with its long and dramatic history, its disappointments and hardships, its deaths and gradual determined progress towards brilliant accomplishment, which was to be the foundation of Anglo-Saxon America.

Whilst the shallop was being put together, John Smith, with the rest of the gentlemen and soldiers, landed and marched eight miles inland, and came to a place where the Indians had recently been roasting oysters, whereupon the natives fled and left the Englishmen to eat the oysters "which were very large and delicate in taste."

So rapidly had the shallop been built up that even by the next day, April 28, she was finished and launched. Captain Newport and certain of the gentlemen went in her and did some exploring during that day around the lower portion of Chesapeake Bay, landing on the south side and finding abundant oysters as well as mussels. The country, as they marched inland for three or four miles, was looking very beautiful and attractive in its spring dress of coloured flowers and noble trees in foliage. Strawberries, too, were found but "foure times bigger and better than ours in England." Thus the first impressions of Virginia were by no means unpleasant.

Before night came on they made a series of soundings, and on rowing over towards the northern shore—the

three ships having been anchored on the first coming at the mouth of what we know by the name of the James River—they discovered a channel with from six to twelve fathoms of water, “which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort.” And to-day, as every one is well aware, Old Point Comfort is still the name by which that popular seaside resort on the small peninsula is known, with the Atlantic Ocean straight in front and Chesapeake Bay stretching away to the north. On the following day a cross was erected, and the promontory which marks the southern extremity of the Bay, and will always be historic as the landfall which the squadron had made, was now given (in honour of “our most noble Prince”) that name Cape Henry which still survives. The opposite Cape Charles on the northern shore was thus called after “the worthy Duke of Yorke.”¹ Now, partly by navigational skill but partly by the bad luck of the gale and the good fortune of sighting land when they did, this London squadron had come to the most suitable spot along the coast, having regard to their limitations in respect of area, and of ship handiness. A wide, easy entrance, such as the Chesapeake mouth between these two capes, with rivers reaching away well inland, was the very kind of locality which they desired. As they came in that memorable day, Cape Henry with its white hilly sands, its shores green with pines and fir-trees, seemed in the vernal sunshine a strangely pleasant land to those who had been afloat in unhealthy ships for so many months since the wintry fields of Blackwall disappeared from view.

Within the two capes, wrote Smith several years later,

¹ James I had two sons. Henry was the elder, a prince of considerable promise, who was the hope of all those who disliked Spain, and therefore much beloved by the English colonists. He died in 1612. It was James's second son, Charles, who was destined to become successor to the throne in 1625.

"is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable rivers : heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hills, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightsome land."

On April 30 the three ships shifted their anchorage from the mouth of the James River—then known as Powhatan River—across to Point Comfort. Some natives being seen at the latter, Captain Newport had the shallop manned, rowed ashore, and with signs of friendship persuaded them not to be hostile or run away. The Englishmen were invited ashore and well entertained with tobacco, food and dancing. Thus the contact between the Redskins and the White Men, the original inhabitants and the new race of settlers destined some day to control North America, had now been made : a second milestone in the progress of American civilization had been passed.

The shallop with its party was strictly carrying out the instructions from London, for it was exploring the Powhatan River, namely "that which bendeth most toward the North-West" ; and, inspired by those in authority at home, the pioneers in the boat evidently expected to find before long that this would lead them very near to the Pacific. Whilst the squadron remained under Point Comfort, the shallop continued her way up the river and on May 4 reached Paspahegh, where they became acquainted with the local Red Indian chief, who entertained them well. After this the explorers returned down the river to the squadron for the night, but on May 5 the up-river journey was continued in the shallop, and another chief treated them with hospitality. Percy,

who was one of this pioneer party, wrote most enthusiastically of the scenery which this other chief showed them. "Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines. Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that euer was seene in any Countrey."

On May 8 they resumed their journey up Powhatan and got right up to Appamatuck, landed and made friends with the natives, and four days later went back to the squadron, which on May 13, after this preliminary exploration, were now able to move up to the neighbourhood of Paspahegh. The three ships could lie "so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water." The party had thus decided, though not without some dispute, that here was to be their "seating place" or settlement, and thus we see the first plantation commence. On May 14 the ships landed all their men, and whilst some acted as guards the rest set to work and made fortifications in accordance with the London instructions. The chief of Paspahegh came in state to call on them, but unfortunately one of the latter's men stole a hatchet from an Englishman who recovered it only by force, smiting the Redskin on the arm. This in turn roused the anger of a second Indian who threatened to beat the Englishman's brains out with a wooden sword; and when the chief saw the pioneers take to their arms, he considered it advisable to withdraw himself and company: with great anger therefore they all went away.

In further obedience to the London Virginia Company's orders, the time had now come for certain of them to discover "the river above you, and on the country about you." The site of what was to become Jamestown, after that preliminary investigation, had been transformed immediately into a scene of great activity. The Council had been sworn, Wingfield had been chosen

President, and a speech had been made why John Smith had not been admitted to this Council. Wingfield quarrelled with Captain Gosnold as to whether the site was "a verie fit place for the erecting of a great citie"; and also with Captain Archer. According to Wingfield's own statement, "Master Archers quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choise of the place for our plantation; because I misliked his leying out of our towne, in the pinnasse," though Wingfield also adds "because I would not sware him of the Councell for Virginia, which neyther I could doe or he deserve." Thus, already, dissensions had set in before the settlement was even laid out, and no impartial person can acquit Wingfield of having been a most difficult officer under whom to serve; for, out of the President's nervousness lest they might offend the natives, he would allow neither "exercise at armes" nor any fortification other than the branches of trees put together crescent-shaped by the skill of Captain Kendal.

It was on May 22, then, that according to the London instructions the Powhatan or James River began to be explored by a party consisting of the Hon. George Percy, Captain Gabriel Archer (in spite of his wounds), Captain John Smith, Master John Brookes and Master Thomas Wotton, gentlemen; Francis Nelson, John Collson, Matthew Fitch and Robert Tyndall described as "Maryners," together with fourteen sailors; but the whole party of twenty-three being under the command of Captain Newport. Tyndall, who was Gunner to Prince Henry, wrote from Jamestown a few weeks later to the Prince concerning the country "of the whiche wee haue taken a Reall and publicke possession in the name and to the vse of your Royall father and our gratiouse kinge and soueraigne"; but he also enclosed "a dearnall of our voyage and draughts of our Riuier." Unfortunately both the "dearnall" and the "draughte"

have been lost, though Tyndall's letter is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. But we have, happily, an account from May 21 till June 22, 1607, of this further up-river discovery, written by "A gentleman of the Colony," who is almost certainly that Captain Gabriel Archer just mentioned. We have also Smith's own relation, Percy's "discourse" in Purchas, and a brief narrative by Studley.

The shallop having been fitted out with provisions and all necessaries "belonging to a discovery," Captain Newport with his five gentlemen, four mariners and fourteen sailors set out from the newly started Jamestown plantation about noon. There was satisfaction in the pioneers' hearts that the selected site, joined as it was to the shore by a narrow neck—making it nearly an island—was strategically strong against any intruders from the land. And it was unlikely that it could be surprised from the water, seeing that it was about fifty miles above Point Comfort at the river mouth. Men and material had been landed, that which was to be for three-quarters of a century the capital of the colony was fast being turned into something resembling a town ; and, in the glory of May-time blooms and blossoms with the exhilaration of the spring, it was well that not yet should they realize the location was unhealthy and unsuited. To-day the only remains of the old town are the tower of a ruined church and a few tombstones ; though the oyster-boats still remind one of the food which the first inhabitants roasted.

Captain Archer's account of this up-river expedition was the official one brought home by Newport, and from it we have interesting details. The distance from Jamestown to the Falls measured 68 miles, and it was by making friends with the natives at different places *en route* that so much valuable local information was obtained. Thus eight "salvages" being espied in a canoe, "we haled

them by our words of kyndnes . . . one seemed to understand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to describe the river to us : So I gave him a pen and paper (shewing first y^e use) and he layd out the whole River from the Chesseian [Chesapeake] bay to the end of it so farr as passadge was for boats."

On the way up the English pioneers were to receive, as presents or by barter, oysters, mulberries, strawberries, " sweete nuttes like Acorns," wheat, beans, cakes, roasted deer, bread, fish and so on. Friendship was made with chiefs, who banqueted the party and gave them tobacco. Having got well up the river, they made the acquaintance of and were well entertained by Powhatan, but he was not that Powhatan the Indian chief who will in due course enter our story as a figure of great prominence though the former was subject to the latter. Newport presented him with " penny knyves, sheeres, belles, beades, glass toyes," and Powhatan lent him five men to act as guides up the river. A little later Archer indicated the wounds now " scarce whole " which had been received from Powhatan's enemies when the Englishmen first landed that April afternoon. The pioneers signified that they vowed revenge, and this created between Newport's companions and the chief " a leauge of fryndship."

After proceeding two or three miles further up stream they " came to an overfall, impassable for boates any further. Here the water falles Downe through great mayne Rockes, from ledges of Rockes aboue 2. fadome highe : in which fall it maketh Divers little Iletts, on which might be placed 100. water milnes for any vses. Our mayne Ryver ebbs and flowes 4. foote even to y^e skert of this Downfall. Shippes of 200. or 300. tonne may come to within 5 myle hereof, and the rest Deepe inoughe for Barges, or small vessels that Drawe not aboue 6. foote water."

Now on the site of Powhatan's home, which Newport, Smith and the others visited, there was to be founded in 1737 that capital of Virginia which to-day we know as Richmond, with its numerous falls and islands. And just below Richmond, on the left bank, this historic chief's habitation can be noted by the traveller voyaging down the river by steamer. The sudden full stop to their boating expedition filled Newport's party with mixed feelings, so that they were "betweene Content and greefe." The rocks and rapids upon which Richmond looks down from its seven hills put an end to all possibility of finding a passage for ships through to the South Sea. So on Whitsunday, May 24, the party tarried a while, boiled their pork and peas for a meal, to which Powhatan was invited, and after dinner inquired of him as to how far it might be to the river's head. Newport was intending to march overland for a few days and investigate, but later on Powhatan "sitting vpon the banck by the overfall beholding the same, he began to tell vs of the tedyous travell we should haue if wee proceeded any further . . ." with the result that Captain Newport "out of his Discreyton (though he would faine have seene further, yea and himself as desirous also) Checkt his intentyon and returned to his boate."

He set up a cross on one of the islands at the mouth of the falls this Whitsunday with the inscription "Jacobus Rex, 1607," and Newport's name below, proclaiming "Iames King of England to haue the most right vnto" the river. "At the erecting hereof we prayed for our kyng and our owne prosperous succes in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him kyng, with a greate showte. . . . Having ended thus of force our Discovery," there was nothing for it but to start back down the river. "This Riuier," wrote Percy enthusiastically, "which wee haue discouered is one of the famousest Riuers that euer was found by any Christian. It ebbe

and flowes a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoeuer we landed vpon this Riuver, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees vnknowne ; and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of diuers colours and kindes."

On the way down Captain Newport, says Smith, became suspicious that the natives had been causing trouble at Jamestown, and "the instant change of the wind being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed," where the shallop arrived on May 27, only to learn that on the previous day several hundred of the Indians had assaulted these newly made fortifications. It was only by means of the artillery and muskets of the three English ships that the enemy was compelled to retire : for the Redskins had very nearly succeeded in overthrowing this incipient settlement, having entered almost to the fort. About a dozen Englishmen were wounded, of whom one died and a boy was killed in the pinnace. An unknown number of the attackers were slain, but the Indians' assault had been valiant and determined. The incident had begun whilst most of the Englishmen were busy sowing their corn, unarmed and unprepared : but it was the gentlemen who first resisted the attack, and four of the Council standing in front of the fort were wounded. Wingfield, the President, had a marvellously narrow escape, for one arrow went clean through his beard without hurting him.

"Thus having ended our Discovery" of the James River, wrote Archer, "which we hope may tend to the glory of God, his Maiestes Renowne, our Countryes profytt, our own advauncing and fame to all posterity : we settled our selues to our owne safety, and began to fortefy ; Captain Newport worthely of his owne accord

causing his Sea men to ayde vs in the best parte therof." The plantation had emerged so narrowly from being wiped out, that Wingfield in his capacity of President no longer objected to the settlement being made as strong as possible. It is true that the London authorities had included the instruction to "have great care not to offend the naturals," but they had also clearly ordered the settlement to be fortified.

That arrow in his beard possibly had something to do with his change of mind, for on Thursday, May 28, the day of the boat-expedition's return, they all began with speed to palisade the plantation, and on Friday the enemy made but a mild attack barely within musket shot. On Sunday, however, the Indians came stealthily through the thickets and long grass, and one of the gentlemen, Eustace Clovell by name, received six arrows whilst wandering outside the fort. It was he who came running in with the alarm, and died eight days later. On the following Thursday, June 4, another Englishman was shot in the head.

The rest of that month was full of incidents which affected this young plantation both externally and internally ; for all was not peace within or without. On June 6 there were among both the gentlemen and all the company murmurs and grudges "against certayne preposterous proceedings, and inconvenient Courses," as Archer considered them ; so the dissatisfied "put up a Petytion to the Counsell for reformatyon." Four days later the Council "scanned the Gentlemans Petition," and it was by Captain Newport's tact, and the colony's affection for him, that anger was cooled and brotherly love resumed. It would seem that the dissatisfaction was against Wingfield and others in their administration, for the final entry of that day is : "Captaine Smyth was this Day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England." Thus, at last, after

having been for thirteen weeks unjustly suspected of plotting, all such accusation was removed and he found himself where he should long since have been, a partner in the government of Jamestown.

This unity, difficult enough under the circumstances, was immediately essential owing to the menace of the Indians. The work of hewing down trees and clearing the ground was continuing, but there was unpleasant sniping going on, and on June 13 one of the mariners, Matthew Fitch who had been in the up-river party, was shot by the enemy lying among the weeds and long grass. And, finally, we come to Sunday, June 21, which was a day tinged with sadness. The little colony received Holy Communion, and later on Captain Newport came ashore to dine with those whom he had brought safely across the Atlantic and up the river. That evening he invited many of them aboard the "*Susan Constant*" to a farewell supper ; and on the following morning, loaded with a cargo of timber, the ship sailed away back to England, leaving behind 105 people with provisions for thirteen or fourteen weeks, as about thirty had either died since leaving Blackwall or had been sent back with the crew.

Three or four days before leaving, Newport had asked Wingfield as to how the latter considered himself settled in his position as President ; and Wingfield had answered that the only disturbance which might endanger him or the colony must come from Captain Gosnold or Master Archer, of whom the former could if he would, and the latter would if he could. But every one respected and had such faith in Newport that the latter's entreaties to remember their duties to King and colony patched matters up. We have this on the authority of a manuscript in the Lambeth Palace written by a scrivener and intended to be signed by Wingfield.

A week before Newport's departure the construction

of Jamestown fort had been completed, being triangular in shape, with a crescent-formed bulwark at each corner and several pieces of artillery there mounted. Most of the English corn which had been sown had sprung up from the ground as high as a man : but in spite of this the community was going to be short of victuals, for Captain Newport had promised that a supply should arrive from England only after twenty weeks. This was a long time for hungry men, who had been accustomed to the good meat and ale of Shakespeare's England, and the intended period was considerably lengthened, although the "Susan Constant" got back to England far more quickly than she had come out. Using the prevailing westerlies, she most probably went across the North Atlantic from Cape Henry via the Azores to the English Channel, for she was certainly home by the middle of August, since, on the 18th of that month, Dudley Carleton, writing to John Chamberlain, refers to the fact of Captain Newport having arrived. Carleton remarks that the Virginia adventurers, whilst commanding the air and soil, had found neither silver nor gold ; that George Percy spoke of the colony as James-fort ; and, further, that the Great Council in London had decided to send out a double supply, i.e. two supply-ships, to Virginia with all diligence.

John Smith shows that after Newport's departure on June 22, 1607, content did not remain in Jamestown long. Wingfield became at variance with Gosnold and the rest of the local Council "in so much that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any business effected in such good sort as wisdome woudl, nor our owne good and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing diuerslie affected through his audacious commaund." But there came now another source of trouble when fatal sickness seized the plantation. Within ten

days of the "Susan Constant's" departure there were scarcely ten of that 105 who could move or even stand : so ill and weak had they become.

" And therat none need mervaile," suggests Studley, " if they consider the cause and reason ; which was this. Whilst the ships staied, our allowance was somewhat bettered by a daily proportion of bisket which the sailors would pilfer to sell, glieue, or exchange with vs, for money, saxebras, furres or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of releife but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkeness, we might haue bin canonized for Saints." The President allowed each man as his daily ration half a pint of wheat and as much barley boiled in water, which was little enough for those hearty fellows brought up on good Elizabethan fare. Studley adds the following scornful remark concerning food and shelter : as for the wheat and barley, " this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many wormes as graines, so that we might truely call it rather so much bran than corne. Our drinke was water ; our lodgings, castles in the air. With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakened vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made us miserable in our natvie country, or any other place in the world."

Smith says that the want of good victuals and the strain of continuous watching, four or five of them every night at the three bulwarks being a considerable burden to them, made the living so weak that they were scarcely able to bury the dead. Wingfield says that in July " diuers of our men fell sick. Wee myssed aboue fforty before September did see us " ; and it is a credit to Wingfield's charitableness that in spite of feuds and dis-

agreements he refers to the death amongst these of "the worthy and religious gentleman Captain Bartholomew Gosnold,¹ vpon whose lief stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and Collony." Captain Ratcliffe and Captain John Smith also became seriously ill but recovered, and about the first week in September there were forty-six men who had passed away.

Now the general effect of all this sickness, death and famine was to increase the feeling of dissatisfaction against the administration. President Wingfield had under his charge sack, aqua-vitæ, and other stimulants which he used for himself and the use of his friends. This was a further cause of his unpopularity, but what with one thing and another it was clear enough that a change would have to be made very soon. Master Kendal was dismissed from the Council and imprisoned "for that it did manyfestly appeare he did practize to sowe discord betweene the President and Councell," according to Wingfield's own account. And there were no houses as yet but only rotten tents, and the store of provisions could not hold out more than three weeks. They had thus to rely on the corn and bread brought by the Indians, and the fortunate arrival of fowl in the rivers. Therefore (as Smith expressed it) "Captain Wingfield hauing ordred the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his course was elected" as from the 10th of September. Smith was one of the three who had the duty of going to Wingfield's tent and showing him that by the written agreement of the rest they discharged him from his even serving on the Council. Wingfield was committed as King's prisoner to the care of a sergeant and sent aboard Captain Ratcliffe's pinnace,

¹ Gosnold died on August 22, 1607.

whose master was to be responsible for the late president's safe keeping.

Wingfield, during his brief period of chief administrator, had been in an unenviable position. The dwindling stores, the uncertainty of Newport's return, and the certainty that it would not be for months at least; the long time that must elapse before the colony's harvest could ripen, the doubtful peace which existed between Englishmen and natives, and the ever possible surprise attack when least expected; the control of disgruntled and mostly unsuited emigrants, the gradual lowering of *moral*, the devastations by sickness and death; in short, the general blackness of outlook combined with the certainty of blame from London, made Wingfield's job about as difficult and unpleasant as any man could wish for, but unquestionably it was for the colony's good that he was moved from an office in which he had clearly proved himself incapable.

Thus yet another landmark in the story of a great adventure had been reached.



CHAPTER XI

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS



ITH the fall of Wingfield there comes into gradually increasing prominence that John Smith who had learnt so many lessons of roving and overcoming exacting situations all over Europe. Perhaps it was inevitable that with his natural and acquired ability Smith should find himself at conflict with such unquestionably capable men as Wingfield, Newport, Gosnold and others. In spite of everything he had, however, been one of that select party which explored the Powhatan river as far as the falls.

Smith was one who neither suffered fools gladly nor had the patience to tolerate the slightest delay. The possibilities of Virginia were so clear to his mind that he was prepared to risk every friendship, employ even unjustifiable means with a view to the one big end. In *A Discourse of Virginia*, written by Wingfield himself, it is clear that the latter's animosity towards Smith was less than the feeling against such men as Martin and Archer. Wingfield honestly tried to be impartial, but it was an age when there was rampant so much mutual suspicion, when politics and religious dissensions caused such unhappy situations. "It is noysed that I combyned with the Spanniards to the destruction of the Collony," the latter protested; "that I ame an Atheist, because I carryed not a Bible with me, and because I did

forbid the preacher to preache"; whereas, notwithstanding that he was a Roman Catholic, Wingfield had called on the Archbishop of Canterbury and thus Robert Hunt had been selected in accordance with his Grace's approval. "And the world knoweth," Wingfield added, that Master Hunt was "a man not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspition of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care."

Wingfield's *Discourse* actually confirms much of Smith's *A True Relation of Virginia*. Even Smith's severe critic, Charles Deane, wrote of this *Relation* in 1866 that it was "an apparently faithful history of the colony for the period which it includes. Where Captain Smith comes into collision with others in authority in the colony, some allowance, perhaps, should be made for his strong feeling or prejudices." Alexander Brown in his scholarly but somewhat violent *The Genesis of the United States* attacks Smith for "constantly taking off the men from their duties" at Jamestown and "going on voyages to discover mines, the South Sea etc." This is running prejudice too far. Smith quite plainly did not agree with these theories about finding precious metals or a way through to the Pacific, but by the explicit orders of the London Virginia Company the attempts had to be undertaken. The various boat journeys which he made to Powhatan and other chiefs for the obtaining of corn were, on the other hand, extremely necessary: unless these trips had been carried out the colony would have starved. It is, however, only fair to add that Smith used everything he could think of—force as well as friendship, threats as well as tact, personal magnetism and superior knowledge that hoodwinked the ignorant Indian—to make the natives contribute as required to the prosperity of the Jamestown plantation. In a word, then, if Smith was so single-minded that he thought only of the

colony and its good, his methods were such that he was bound to be in conflict with others who did not immediately fall in with his opinions. If Wingfield was a little pleased with himself, then the same thing might be said of Smith. The greatest fault of his strong character was that he was so clearly convinced, so thoroughly conscious of his own duty, that he could not believe there was another method of doing the right things in a proper way. The fact is that when left alone Smith would do any dangerous or difficult undertaking with perfect success ; but when compelled to work under leaders for whom he had little respect he might show himself at his worst and, quite wrongly, be suspected of mutinous intent.

To every one of those Jamestown settlers Smith's nature was known well enough, yet even an honest man's repute can be a long while regaining its original value when a slanderous word, an idle tongue, a knowing wink shall have done the harm unchecked. But now that the chief accuser was himself the accused, there was both the chance and duty for Smith to clear himself. On September 17 Wingfield was sent for from the pinnace to the Jamestown Court in order to answer the charge that when president he did say that Jehu Robinson "with others had consented to run awaye with the Shallop to Newfoundland." The jury found Wingfield guilty of slander and fined him £100. "At an other tyme," admitted Wingfield, "I must answere Master Smyth for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany." The result of this was that the jury awarded Smith £200 damages for slander, and all that the late president possessed had to be seized in part satisfaction, though with characteristic magnanimity Smith gave the award to the store for the general use of the colony.

Thus officially cleared of all baseness, Smith's energetic brain and body got to work, and if he were not yet the nominal head of the settlement he was in fact the moving

spirit and actual leader. The position had to be faced and stock taken. What was to be done? It were useless complaining that the London Company had sent them out inadequately equipped: for the coming had been quite voluntary, the passage out was expected to take not five months but two, and thus they should by schedule have arrived with far more victuals and with the advantage of the right time to plant their seeds. The only thing now was to get busy and see that others did the same.

The new President, it may be stated at once, was not a success. The planters neither loved this commanding officer of the pinnace nor respected his judgment¹: it was therefore fortunate that he had entrusted to John Smith the management of all out-of-door matters. By personal example, encouragement, kind words and always working hardest of all, Smith was thus able to make even idlers work. Some he set mowing, others binding thatch for the roofs, others to build houses, so that, within a short time, though he had no lodging for himself he had provided it for most of the others. This was a first and most excellent step towards a real settling down; and the next was to institute some sort of trade with the natives for the colony's very existence.

Thus, like a salesman who goes out seeking for his firm's commerce, Smith had now to become adventurer in quite a new department of life. Since the head of the firm was allowing the affair to die of neglect, it must be Smith who should set forth and save the whole undertaking. He was further encouraged by the fact that the natives' previous hostility had begun to decrease. Therefore we see him selecting some half-dozen of his workmen and going off in the shallop to Kecoughtan, an Indian village at the mouth of the James River, to barter corn

¹ "The Proceedings of the English Colonie," chap. ii. in *A Map of Virginia*.

and to get fish from the river. Owing to the autumn gales it was not possible to fish, but by bartering hatchets, beads and copper, and the employment of tact, Smith was able to obtain and bring back fish, oysters, bread, deer, turkeys, fowls and nearly thirty bushels of corn. This caused great comfort to a lot of starving men at Jamestown who were rotting with idleness and despair.

That successful expedition had not been easy, for there was the language difficulty, the men's clothes were in bad condition, and for some reason there were now no sails to the boat. It had also been necessary to use their muskets and make a demonstration of force that the Indians might know the visitors were determined to get what they wanted. A short assault, however, soon settled matters, peace was made, and trade established. And yet this visit had no permanent good, for the community at Jamestown seemed to be going to the bad as long as Smith was away from it. Some had died of "the bloudie Flixe," swellings, "Burning Feuers"; "some departed suddenly," but some of them had perished from sheer hunger. That malarial peninsula, stockaded from the mainland, with the James River for drinking-water salty on the flood and covered with slime at low tide; the bare cold ground used by some as a bed; the company living from hand to mouth and hardly daring to consider the future—all this was to cause the gravest anxiety. The heat from June to September had been found as fierce as in Spain; but the winter cold from December to March was to try them severely. During this winter of 1607-8 it happened that the frost in Europe was particularly keen, and the same condition occurred in Virginia. But, still, not all this could prevent Smith from going ahead in his energetic manner and trying to get order out of chaos.

He was thinking of the future and the need of provisions, so he caused the pinnace to be fitted out for a

longer journey, and in the meantime made three or four trips in the shallop ; yet what he brought back the settlers squandered carelessly. Some of them were a hopeless lot and quite unworthy of sympathy or assistance, and Smith refers to them in one scathing passage thus : “ Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents : because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and siluer and dissolute liberty as they expected, [they] had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell ; and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.”

To him who had been through such strenuous times in Europe and Asia, all this slovenliness and idle indulgence, all this ineptitude and crass stupidity were most infuriating. It was whilst Smith was away on one of these trips that some of the Jamestown people, seeing that Wingfield and Kendal were in disgrace, all things “at randome” and despising Ratcliffe for his weakness, arranged with the sailors in the pinnace to take them across to England ; but Smith’s unexpected return revealed this plot. It was no easy matter to prevent the pinnace getting away, but by firing at her with falcon balls and musket shot he gave her the opportunity of either remaining or being sunk in the river. Thus by his strong, quick action this young man at the right moment again saved the situation. Kendal was presently tried by jury, convicted and executed as having been the chief instigator. And during this trial for mutiny it came out that Ratcliffe’s real name was Sicklemore, so

the judgment had to be pronounced by Captain John Martin. James Read, the blacksmith, after trial by jury for insolent language and attempting to strike the President, was condemned to be hanged. That settled conspiracy of a kind, but a little later on during this same autumn, when the colony's provisions could not last more than another fortnight, Captains Ratcliffe and Archer planned to sail away to England and obtain supplies ; but John Smith was able to suppress this mean plot also. By this time the latter was able to get on with his exploration of the country and rivers with a view to bartering food from the natives. There can be no doubt but that this work of discovery, with all its risks, was most congenial to his love of geographical knowledge ; and all those brawls, underhand schemes and conspiracies were not less abhorrent. Smith dealt with life and men on the square, and he hated that which was mean or petty or false ; so these various river journeys in the neighbourhood of Chesapeake Bay did much to maintain his own spirits away from the Jamestown worries and jealousies.

In this manner he explored the river Chickahominy, which flows into the Powhatan from the north about nine miles above Jamestown. On November 9 with eight men he took the barge and started up stream, leaving the pinnace to follow on the next tide ; and having got far enough he found the Indians, bought their corn, came back by midnight with the ebb and unloaded seven hogsheads of the corn into the colony. The pinnace had made a mess of her duty and got aground. On the next day Smith again went up the river and such was the goodwill established that the Indians were there already waiting with their baskets to load up the barge ; in this manner he was able to add another seven hogsheads to the colony's store.

Having thus provided adequate food for those unsatisfactory and dissatisfied settlers, Smith now started

out for a third time up this Chickahominy river, discovered more native villages, obtained still more corn and again returned to Jamestown. On December 10 he started out once more, for he was eager to explore, and there were some who criticized him for not having yet discovered the source of the Chickahominy. Therefore, since there was enough corn which his endeavours had provided, and since the wintry weather had brought to the river any number of swans, geese, ducks and cranes, there was a temporary lull in grumbling and the most disgruntled ceased desiring to leave for England.

Proceeding up the Powhatan river in the barge, he turned to starboard into the Chickahominy (which is ninety miles long) and went for forty miles till he reached an Indian village named Apocant, which was the farthest in habitation up this tributary. After another ten miles the river narrowed, so he hired a canoe with a couple of Indians and took back the barge to Apocant, leaving her to ride in a broad bay with instructions that no one of the seven men in her was to go ashore until Smith's return. The fact that certain malicious tongues had hinted "I durst not" make this exploration was like a lash to his honour, and forward he went relying on the companionship of Master Jehu Robinson, Thomas Emry (one of the carpenters) and the friendship of the two Indians. Continuing through desolate country for another twenty miles, the river became so encumbered with trees that Smith and his party landed to cook their food., Smith then selected one Indian and went off to examine the nature of the soil in his zeal for information ; the other Indian he left behind with Robinson and Emry, the two latter having their matches lighted and being ordered to fire a musket for Smith's return at the first sight of any other Indian.

Within fifteen minutes Smith suddenly heard a loud cry and a shouting of the Redskins, but no sound of a

musket. Quick to take in a situation, and quick to act, he now guessed that the Indians had betrayed them, so bound his Indian guide's arm fast "to my hand in a garter," at the same time having a pistol ready. The Indian seemed surprised at the sudden turn of events and advised flight, but just then an arrow came hurtling along and struck Smith on the right thigh, yet miraculously doing no harm. Two Indians were then seen drawing their bows, but the Englishman's discharge of his pistol stopped them. And now more arrows began to come flying, so, instead of digging himself in, Smith made the Indian's body serve as protective armour.

The next incident was that an Indian chief named Opechancanough with two hundred men surrounded our pioneer, so here he was yet again in one of those tight corners with death uncommonly close at hand. Each of the Redskin throng was lying on the ground, hand on bow ready to shoot his death-dealing arrow : the moment was tense, breathless, and still they stayed their attack. Smith's guide now parleyed for him, explained that he was a Captain and requested permission to retire towards his boat. The Redskins in answer demanded surrender of the White Man's arms, adding the sensational and alarming news that the rest of the White Men were slain but they would reserve this one. The guide besought Smith not to shoot, and the latter began a retreat but soon found himself in a quagmire where he stuck fast. The guide tried to help him out but stuck fast also. In this impossible position, nearly dead with cold, what could be done now ?

Smith decided that the only thing was to appeal to their mercy, but not one of them dared to approach until the explorer had thrown away his arms, whereupon they seized him and led him away to the chief. Here he was able to meet violence with mental cleverness. Nor can we help smiling at the plausible manner of his method.

Just as in dealing with an infant or a lunatic one would seek first to side-track his interest with some toy, so did Smith work on the uncivilized chief's child-like simplicity. "I presented him with a compasse diall,"¹ he wrote less than two years later, "describing by my best meanes the vse therof : whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres, and plannets."

Could anything be more ludicrously brilliant than in the hour of death to engage an enemy's attention in a geographical discussion? It was none the less just the kind of surprising thing that this ingenious young warrior, who had extricated armies and escaped from slavery, would perform. And, if he were taking advantage of the savage mind, Smith felt the objective justified it. The result was that the chief became quite friendly, "with kinde speeches and bread requited me, conducting me where" the canoe lay—but in that canoe was Robinson dead, with a score of arrows in him. Emry, too, was gone yet whither Smith just then knew not; and as they went on the march Smith expected that his own execution would occur at any stopping-place, but he was taken to the chief's village as an interesting prisoner. He was well fed: "my gowne, points and garters, my compas and my tablet they gaue me again."

What had happened to the barge party who had been left at Apocant farther down the river? Smith had departed from them "with expresse charge not any to go ashore till my returne." This order was disobeyed; for "hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut off the boat and all the rest." Cassen's disobedience,

¹ Made of ivory, and double.

with that of his shipmates, had created the crisis and caused the death of Robinson and Emry ; for the Indians extracted from Cassen the information as to where Smith had gone, and forthwith began to search the bends of the river. It was thus that Robinson and Emry were found and put to death, and Smith was presently discovered. Up to this date the colonists had lost by hostilities comparatively few of their men. On May 26, you will remember, one man and a boy had been killed during that assault on Jamesfort ; on May 30 Eustace Clovell had been mortally wounded ; on June 4 another man was killed ; on August 10 William Bruster, gentleman, died of his wounds received from the Indians ; four days later Ensign Jerome Alikock from the same cause, and one or two more also.

But the manner of Cassen's execution, in accordance with the native savagery, had been revolting. He had been tied to a tree, the executioner with mussel shells had then cut off his joints one by one and burnt them ; the head had then been flayed of its skin also by mussel shells, and after further atrocity he and tree were burnt together. Having regard to the innate ferociousness of these "naturals," it is really surprising that the English pioneers going up and down those rivers, exploring the land and coming in contact as strangers with the Indians, did not have far more numerous fatal incidents among their adventures.

When the barge brought the news to Jamestown great sorrow filled the planters. Smith had been captured about December 16, and for the next three weeks he was in daily expectation of death. Thus, as if Europe and Asia, the adventures afloat in the North Sea, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic had not sufficed, he was to begin now a new series of trials that would have broken the spirit of many another man. In the account obtained from Studley, Harrington and Fenton supplementing

Smith's own facts (edited by the Rev. William Simmonds, " Doctour of Divinitie ") further details are given of that compass incident, and its effect on the natives. " Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually ; the greatnessse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how they were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him : but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted and well used."

Orapaks is shown in Smith's map of Virginia situate between the upper portions of the rivers Chickahominy and Powhatan some distance below the falls, consisting of about thirty wigwams, where every woman and child stared in wonder at this White Man held fast at the arms by three great Indians. There followed strange yellings and dancings by the painted Redskins with their birds-feathered heads.

And now Smith, in spite of his captivity and expectant death, was to do a good turn to his fellow colonists. The Redskins began preparations to attack Jamestown and sought his advice as how best this could be done, promising him in return life, liberty, land and women. Smith's cunning brain, however, invented a plan for getting information through to warn the planters at Jamestown, which was in the area known to the natives as Paspahégh ;

the colony must be saved at all costs, and he was resourceful enough, plucky enough, to contrive the following risk. He begged that a messenger might take to Jamestown a letter which Smith would write. For what purpose? That his compatriots might know that he was well, being kindly treated, and thus they would not come forth and avenge his death. That idea appealed to these primitives when their prisoner had impressed on them how powerful were the Jamestown guns, how well mined were the surrounding fields, and how assuredly Captain Newport on his return from England would punish the Indians for any damage done to Jamestown. He wrote down "in part of a table booke" the Indians' intentions to attack the fort, and requested that the colonists would send him certain articles in an accompanying list.

The December weather was bitter with frost and snow, yet the three Redskin messengers went down to Jamestown. In the meantime on the following day another native came furiously to where Smith was lodged, and with his sword would have slain the Englishman had not the guard prevented, yet soon the cause of this anger was learned. The intruder was the father of a man Smith had mortally wounded with his pistol when the first collision had occurred after leaving Robinson and Emry. And now, with a desire to save the dying man's life, and thinking evidently of the colony's store of aqua-vitæ, he proffered the information that at Jamestown "he had a water" that would restore the man, if only Smith might be allowed to fetch it; but permission was refused.

One day later the three messengers returned from Jamestown; the effect on their untutored minds of writing and reading was like some wizardry. For everything had happened exactly as Smith had foretold them. He had written requesting the planters to sally forth to

frighten the messengers, and they had done so. He had told these messengers that if they returned to the same place by Jamestown at night an answer and certain articles should there be waiting them : they came back to that spot and found everything as he had promised. Thus they went hurrying thence to where their master detained Smith, themselves and their companions marvelling that Smith had the power of divination or that the paper could speak !

This instance of a simple native's surprise at the White Man's reliance on the written word is not unique. I have elsewhere¹ quoted the case of Robert Drury, a young English prisoner on the island of Madagascar during the early eighteenth century. Drury wanted to get a message through to the captain of an English ship newly arrived and, taking a big leaf, managed to mark thereon the lettering. A native was instructed to take this message down to the sea and deliver it ; but the negro on the journey dropped the leaf, plucked another from a tree, duly delivered it, and marvelled how it was that it was not appreciated. His mind could not grasp the fact that words could be conveyed without speaking. In just the same manner the American Indians failed to appreciate Smith's action and thought it wizardry. Smith was smart enough always to take advantage of such simple credulity, and used it both for his own ends and the good of the Jamestown plantation. He had confidence in the superiority of the White race and his own ability ; and whether he was overpleased with himself and his cuteness may be disputed. The fact remains that all those travels and exciting incidents in Europe, those single combats and personal escapes, had developed his character in such a direction as to make him more self-reliant than capable of working with others. Team work was never his ideal : pioneering alone was his

¹ *Windjammers and Shellbacks*, 1926.

greatest joy. He was ever too strong-minded and masterful to co-operate successfully and amicably with colleagues, and to this characteristic may be traced some of those powerful enmities which were created.

But now he was to be carried about the country, from one tribe to another, on exhibition, and in this manner was to visit the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers which flow out into the Chesapeake Bay. And during this period he was to witness strange, weird ceremonies which were not comforting to a man in the hands of savage people. Thus with fearful incantations, his body painted all over, his head covered with the skins of snakes and weasels, some grim fellow would come dancing forth making extraordinary gestures. It was all like some hideous dream, with grotesque cacophonous noises, such as when the mind is delirious and the ear not attuned.

But at last after all this wandering about Virginia they brought him to Werowocomoco on the Pamunkey (or York) River on the 5th of January, 1608, to the Great Powhatan who ruled over the territory which included the region where the lesser Powhatan lived near the falls of the river similarly named. Here in the royal wigwam the big chief received him in state, sitting amidst his two hundred subjects on a matted platform with a fire burning in front of him. Smith was struck by the grave and majestic demeanour of this semi-naked savage. Of this great ruler the English planters had never yet heard, and Smith was "the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw."

Powhatan welcomed the White Man with kindly words "and great Platters of sundrie victuals." "So fat they fed mee," Smith reasoned, "that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee." Powhatan demanded to know the reason of the White Men's coming, and in reply Smith told him a suitable story : how that "being

in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouer-powered, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore : where landing at Chesipiack, the people shot at vs, but at Kequoughtan they kindly vsed vs : we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuier was all fresh water : at Paspa-hegh also they kindly vsed vs : our Pinnasse being leakie, we were inforced to stay to mend her, till Captaine Newport, my father came to conduct vs away. He demaunded why we went further with our Boate. I tolde him, in that I would haue occasion to talke of the blacke Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water. My father had a childe slaine, whiche wee supposed Monocan his enemie had done : whose death we intended to reuenge."

But, with alarming contrast, kindly entertainment was to precede tragedy : for now a long consultation was held, two great stones were brought before Powhatan which were to form the executioners' block. Smith was seized, his head laid on the stones and the men with their clubs were just about to beat out his brains when Pocahontas, the young daughter of Powhatan, rushed forward and laying her own head upon Smith's thus saved him from death. The appeal of this child, so dear to the chief, prevailed : the White Man's life should be spared and he should live to make hatchets for the chief ; bells, beads and copper for her. This dramatic incident is of course known to every school in England and America : it has been used as a one-act play, and as the foundation for romances in fiction. "La Belle Sauvage" has given her name to legends and taverns and even localities, yet the truth of her saving Smith's life has been quite unreasonably doubted.

Let us clear the ground a little. In the first place we can rule out all sentimental, sexual romance from the incident. It was rather a case where that natural human

pity and abhorrence of death, which are characteristic of womanhood and girlhood, entered to stop the painful sight of suffering : and, further, as Mr. A. G. Bradley in his critical introduction to Smith's works long since pointed out, Pocahontas "merely exercised the right common to the women of Indian tribes, old or young, and claimed his person and his life as her own property and for adoption into the tribe." There may, it is true, have been something in feminine curiosity. This was the first white male specimen she had ever seen : so why kill him, and why not preserve him as the unusual ?

Smith's age was just 28, seeing that he was baptized on January 9, 1580 (modern style), and this was the first week of January, 1608. His charm of manner, his brave presence and so on, would certainly make him not unattractive to the opposite sex, as he had been to Tragbigzanda and Callamata : but Pocahontas was a mere child. He refers to her, when writing in 1616, as having been in 1608 "the King's most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age." This is further confirmed in the pages of that manifesto got together by W. Simmonds and published at Oxford in 1612,¹ where some of Smith's companions speak of the daughter of Powhatan thus : "It is true she was the very Nomporell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith ; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected : and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought ; or more regarded her, or any of them,

¹ *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia . . .* by W. S.

than in honest reason and discretion might." Thus testified Richard Pots and W. Phettiplace less than four years afterwards.

It is true that Wingfield in his *A Discourse of Virginia* says nothing of the Pocahontas incident. Nor did Smith mention it in *The True Relation* written immediately after his deliverance in 1608, which became the earliest printed account of the Jamestown settlement. But this had been written "to a worshipfull friend of his in England" not with a view to publication. As we know from the preface "to the Courteous Reader" by one whose initials are "I. H.," this editor "happening vpon this relation by chance . . . thought good to publish it : but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing . . . somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke."

It is quite probable that the Pocahontas affair was intentionally omitted by the editor as being "fit to be private" and likely to be misunderstood by those who are always seeking sensation and scandal. It is equally possible that Smith, for his own good reasons, and seeing that he was writing not history but a narrative to a friend, considered it quite unnecessary to mention this child at that place. When, however, long after his return he sat down quietly to write *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (which appeared in 1624) and was free to give a full and detailed narrative, then he presented the plain, simple account of this Pocahontas intervention.

The fact is that when Smith's adverse critics state he invented this romantic story they not merely fail to understand the type of man but they are introducing an atmosphere which is false, a note that is out of harmony with the rest. Smith looked upon this young girl's aid as divine intervention. In Book 4 of the above history

he refers to her fearless friendship in such passages as these : "she hazarded the beating out of her owne
braines to sau mine ; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to
Iames towne. . . . Iames towne with her wild traine
she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation ; and
during the time of two or three yeeres [i.e. from January
1608 to 1609], she next vnder God, was still the instrument
to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and
vtter confusion."

If therefore the Pocahontas story is to be regarded merely as a late invention, how shall we possibly account for Powhatan preserving at the last minute the life of Smith when Cassen, Robinson and Emry had paid the penalty, and Smith's own pistol had caused death to the Indians ? There is no possible suggestion that Pocahontas was a mythical personage : on the contrary she is a picturesque figure of history who in 1614 married Captain Rolfe in that Jamestown church whose tower still stands, two years later made a visit to England, and died at Gravesend in 1617. Nor is it mere legend that she came in and out of Jamestown during Smith's time. Therefore every planter seeing her bringing in those grateful supplies of food, and noting her genuine friendship towards the colony, would of course believe, unquestioning, Smith's account.

Thomas Fuller, the English divine and historian who lived from 1608 to 1661 (when he was carried out of his pulpit to die) left *The Worthies of England* for his son to complete. In this publication a slighting reference to John Smith was the first and only suggestion ever made against the traveller's accepted statements until in the year 1860 Charles Deane in the privately printed edition of *A Discourse of Virginia by Edward Maria Wingfield*, which appeared in Boston, U.S.A., started a line of criticism that for many years was supported. Referring to

this Pocahontas incident Deane wrote: "The story is an interesting and romantic one. But the critical reader of the account of Smith's adventures in Virginia will be struck with the fact that no mention whatever is made of this incident in his minute personal narrative covering this period, written at the time, on the spot, and published in 1608." Deane did, however, admit that in Smith's *New Englands Trials* a brief incidental allusion in an ambiguous form is given to his having been delivered by Pocahontas. But this critic takes the view that the whole of this intervention by the Indian girl is a later "embellishment" by Smith "with his strong love of the marvellous"; and Deane believes that, as Pocahontas caused on her arrival in England considerable curiosity, Smith was tempted "to bring her on the stage as a heroine in a new character."

In *A True Relation of Virginia* by Captain John Smith with an introduction and notes by Charles Deane, which appeared at Boston in 1866, this censor rather modifies his previous remarks by saying that this story "is one of the embellishments with which Smith's later works were sometimes adorned" yet Smith "alone of the colonists could tell the story of his capture and imprisonment." He then goes on to make the unwarranted suggestion that Smith "had probably fallen into the hands of Michael Sparks, the publisher." In citing the reference in *New Englands Trials* of 1622 where Smith mentions that he was "delivered" by Pocahontas, Deane now glosses over this important fact by merely saying "it is safer, I think, to follow the simple, original narrative, written on the spot." The answer to this is, as already stated: the narrative of 1608 was a private and incomplete letter never intended for publication.

It cannot be denied that Ralph Hamor in *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, printed in 1615, omits the Pocahontas story, though it must be remembered

that this publication appeared seven years after Smith's *A True Relation*. Why did not Hamor mention the incident? The reason is that it was left out deliberately because only Smith was capable of relating it; but Smith was able to make up this omission in the following year, when Pocahontas with her English husband, Rolfe, was about to arrive in London. Smith, mindful of what he owed to this Indian princess, wrote in 1616 to Queen Anne, consort of James I on her behalf. "Hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her,¹ though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe." In this petition to the Queen Smith deliberately states of Pocahontas these words: "At the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine."

It is all very well for Deane² to scoff at Smith and call him "a true knight errant" who "was always ready to go down on his knees to the fair sex, and to confess the obligations he owed to many famous ladies," but this does not get away from the fact that Smith here makes a statement to the Queen which is either truth or a lie. Would he have been so fond of "the marvellous" as to risk making a false statement to the Queen? I think not. He even took the trouble to perpetuate this petition, and therefore accentuate his attitude, by printing it in the fourth book of his *Generall Historie*.

Mr. A. G. Bradley in his critical introduction to Smith's works, referring to those writers who affirm that Smith invented this event of the great deliverance says: "They ignore the fact that strict orders had been given by the London Company that nothing should be published likely to frighten intending colonists, and that the

¹ Pocahontas had "openly renounced her country's idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized." (*The Generall Historie*, Bk. 4.)

² *A True Relation.*

publisher of Smith's first letter had implied that something was left out. The late Professor Fiske makes an admirable point in the fact that George Percy, whose reputation for wisdom had suffered somewhat in the *General History*, and who the next year wrote a pamphlet hostile to it and to Smith, would have seized with delight on such a monstrous fable if, as one of the original Jamestown colonists, he had not known it to be true ; whereas he made no allusion to it whatever."

The late Professor Arber in his introduction to Smith's writings, after devoting many years to the subject, is equally emphatic in his belief that what Smith said was true. "To deny the truth of the Pocahontas incident is to create more difficulties than are involved in its acceptance. . . . The subsequent uniform and unwearyed friendship shewn by the Indian girl to the colony at large, and to Smith in particular, is the strongest possible confirmation of his narrative ; and it is otherwise inexplicable." And, again, he remarks : "The advent of Smith was a momentous event in Pocahontas's life, but a very small one in his own ; so small indeed that he did not see occasion to dwell upon it."

To me this interpretation seems more reliable than that of Alexander Brown, already cited, who discredits Smith's account of his own life, calls him vain and a mere adventurer. One may admit frankly that in Smith's writings there are inexactitudes and a lack of precision and even an occasional inconsistency. As a whole, however, there is nothing that is intentionally false or incredible. We must remember that the age was unscientific, and—as every one knows who has consulted original manuscripts of about this period—even such simple arithmetic as adding up figures was frequently done inaccurately though not criminally.

The matter of sex hardly comes into this Pocahontas affair. I take the view that Smith was so consumed (as

well physically as mentally) by his love of adventures, so entirely zealous for the success of Virginian colonization that the love of women was of distinctly minor consideration. Like Cecil Rhodes, and other pioneers, he never married : a great colonial work was "my wife, my hawks, my hounds," etc. We know, too, that he looked upon even this Indian princess as his social superior. Those were the days when the regard for royalty was singularly high. And if, in his remarks about the women who were kind, he uses what seems to us extravagant language, let us not forget that it was in accordance with the spirit of the seventeenth century.



CHAPTER XII

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION



IN January 7, that is two days after the interrupted execution, Smith was again brought before the Great Powhatan and informed that he should be allowed to go to Jamestown, but that he must send from the latter a present of two guns and a grindstone. On that same day Smith with a dozen guides started off, and the night was spent in the woods. All the way across he still expected at each hour to be executed, in spite of his good treatment. But on the following morning they all reached Jamesfort, where he courteously showed one of the Indians a couple of demi-culverins and a mill-stone for Powhatan.

Now a demi-culverin was a gun which weighed 4500 lbs., and fired a shot of 9 lbs. about 800 yards. The Indians therefore found the gifts "somewhat too heavie," and when Smith had the guns discharged after being loaded with stones, and the visitors saw the boughs of a great tree that was covered with icicles come crashing down, the visitors ran away half dead with fear. With some difficulty, the latter were pacified, given some toys and presents for Powhatan, his women and children.

It was when they had gone that Smith, having been away these weeks, began to size up Jamestown's con-

dition. Certainly he had been received with the truest signs of joy by all with the exception of Archer and several of the latter's friends ; for during Smith's absence Ratcliffe had sworn Archer in as one of the council and without Martin's consent. Archer, thus seated in authority, had taken a serious and pedantic view concerning the loss of Robinson and Emry. Immediately therefore on Smith's return, the latter was indicted in accordance with the Levitical law, and Smith's trial was so speedy that our pioneer would have been hanged by January 9. It was a terrible homecoming after his recent condemnation to death that his own people should convict him and send him to the scaffold. Poor Smith ! He seemed destined at every stage to be setting out for eternity ; and yet, as ever happened with him throughout his marvellous life, something occurred in the nick of time, with such strange coincidence that no modern novelist would ever dare to use that truth which is stranger than any fiction. The soldier who had survived from the Battle of Rothenthurm and only yesterday had been delivered from Powhatan's sentence was, in spite of his having saved Jamestown colony, to die in obedience to that officious Archer whom Wingfield hated and considered unworthy to be a councillor. " But in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport : who arriuing there the same night, so tripled our joy as for a while these plots against me were deferred ; though with much malice against me, which captain Newport in short time did plainly see."

That January 8th was a full day. The first thing Smith had discovered at the colony was that Ratcliffe and others had formed a plot to take the pinnace and sail off on January 9 to England. This at once angered Smith who " with the hazard of his life, with Sakre [a gun firing a $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb. shot], falcon [firing a $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. shot] and musket shot " compelled them now for the third occasion

to remain or be sunk. Then had come Smith's trial, and finally the dramatic arrival of that sane old sea-dog Captain Newport from England with his ship, which meant such a very great deal.

He had left Jamestown, you will recollect, on June 22, 1607, and thus had been away much longer than those twenty weeks promised ; but now he found that of the original 105 planters whom he had left, when leaving for England, 67 were already dead, so that Jamestown numbered only 38 before Newport's "First Supply" landed. The London Council had decided as far back as August 1607 that two ships or "a dubble supplie" should be sent out with all diligence, but Newport's vessel was the first to arrive, the second being the "Phœnix" under the command of Captain Nelson, which did not reach Jamestown until April 20.

Newport's sudden arrival, as Wingfield remarked, saved both Smith's and Wingfield's lives. The latter was now allowed to come ashore from the pinnace and remain in the town. Newport, having landed and rested his men on land, set them making a store house, a stove and building a church. But for heavy weather and the frost that pinnace would have got away before the return of Smith and Newport, and there would have remained only "some ten or twelue of them who were called the better sort, and haue left Master Hunt our Preacher, Master Antony Gosnoll, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischieves, and inconveniences." The fact was that at Jamestown everybody was in a state of unhappiness, and "all in combustion." And yet such was the national pride of those early settlers, such was their jealousy for the honour of this young colony that in the later account written by Fenton, Harrington and Smith care is taken to show

that the Virginia adventure was in no way different from other plantations with respect to these unfortunate occurrences. England was as yet without experience in colonizing : her great rival and enemy Spain had for many years specialized in this expansion. " And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let him pervse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts : which being knowne to be particular mens offences ; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce."

Smith on his return from captivity had revived the spirits of his fellow countrymen by telling them of all the corn that existed in Powhatan's territory ; and now the arrival of Newport's ship not merely with more emigrants but with the supplies of all requisite commodities from the council in England so gladdened men's hearts that for a time at least there was no talk about abandoning Virginia. And every few days Pocahontas with her attendants would come bringing into Jamestown quantities of provisions which meant so much to the half-starved inhabitants. Thus arrived bread, fish, turkeys, squirrels, venison and so on. Part of these were free gifts, but the rest were purchased by Smith at his own price ; for he had altogether fascinated the Indians " in demonstrating vnto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenes of the seas, the qualitieis of our ships shot and powder, the devision of the world, with the diversity of the people, their complexions customes and conditions." And the further fact that Captain Newport " his father " now arrived as " prophecieid " still further increased the natives' regard for Smith.

It was to give Smith an upper hand over the Redskins, and this must turn out for the colony's good.

Unfortunately, happiness at Jamestown was usually modified at once by some catastrophe or error. About the middle of January the fort accidentally caught on fire. The conflagration began in the living quarters, and, the roofs being of thatch made from dried reeds, the whole place, including the palisades ten yards away, was soon ablaze. Thus arms, bedding, clothes and many provisions were consumed. Master Hunt, the peace-making cleric, lost all his library and all he possessed save the clothes on his back, "yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse." But this fire occurring when the country was all frozen caused the deaths of many who had first come out last year, and of those who had only just arrived : for there were no houses. Unhappily, too, Ratcliffe and the council became jealous of Smith's popularity with the natives and sought to win favour by paying the latter four times more for the commodities than Smith considered reasonable. Furthermore, the arrival of Newport's ship had made the settlers so excited that they could do nothing too much for the mariners. The latter were accordingly allowed to trade with the Indians with perfect freedom. This was entirely contrary to the London Council's instructions, and very quickly the natives became so spoilt that what could previously be obtained for an ounce of copper not now could be exchanged for a pound.

The net result of this was that in Powhatan's regard Smith was partially eclipsed and Newport by his presents and extravagant dealing was highly regarded. The big chief was anxious to meet Newport, so in February the pinnace was fitted out ; Newport, Smith, ten gentlemen and ten others, as well as a guard of about thirty, making a total of over fifty, went up the river, landed and duly reached Powhatan's. Among this English party were

Master Scrivener, Michael Phettiplace and William Phettiplace. All three had just come out from England, and the first mentioned had been already admitted to the Jamestown council.

Smith's personality had by this date inspired so much respect and confidence with the Indians that whenever these used to bring food towards Jamestown they would at first remain some little distance away until Smith should come out to them. All of them, calling him by name, refused to sell until first they had given him their presents. Later on the visitors would come straight in, but it was entirely through regard for their late prisoner that so much trade and understanding had been possible. Now on this present expedition to Powhatan, the journey was made down the James River, round Point Comfort, then up that wide estuary we know to-day as York River and so up the Pamunkey, till they reached Werowocomoco. Smith having gone on ahead and renewed acquaintance-ship with the Great Powhatan, and having received as much bread as each of his men could carry, went back to the river to fetch Newport and Scrivener. But by this time the tide had ebbed, the barge was aground ("though," says Smith, "I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same"), it was also raining ; so finally Smith was housed on land for the night. On the next day Newport and Smith came ashore and were well received by the chief. After three or four days were spent in feasting, dancing and trading, Smith acting as interpreter and smoothing over awkward corners in the negotiations, they returned to Jamestown on March 9.

Between Smith and Newport there was some little friction, the older man seeking to please the somewhat avaricious Indian, whilst Smith was trying to make the savage please the White Man. Finally, by knowing how to excite the great chief's cupidity for a few worthless blue beads, the party had been able to bring back to the

colony 250 bushels of corn. Captain Newport then began to prepare his ship for the voyage home across the Atlantic, and on April 10 he set sail, Smith and Scrivener in the shallop accompanying him down the James River as far as Cape Henry. During those thirteen weeks and two days a considerable part of the supplies sent out from England had been consumed by the addition to the colony of emigrants and of seafarers. And, now that the sailors were gone, there was not too much of meal, oatmeal and corn for those who remained : nearly all that the ship had brought out had since been consumed. Leakage and rats (which had come ashore from the ships) accounted for further encroachments on the diminished stores, and what with having to live on meal and water during those bitter days the percentage of mortality went up by leaps and bounds.

Before leaving, Newport and the Council had made some alterations in the personnel, in order that the management might be carried on more efficiently in the colony. He took back to England those two awkward officers, Wingfield and Archer, who had been thorns in Smith's side and were disliked by so many. They went for the good of the plantation "to seeke some better place of imployment." The voyage from Cape Henry to Blackwall up the Thames took from April 10 till May 21, 1608 : that is to say, six weeks. This would not be reckoned nowadays as a quick passage, eastward bound, with the favourable westerlies on which to rely, but it is most interesting to know this detail as to the speed of the vessel under the command of the first officer to carry passengers and freights regularly between England and America. Those who to-day think nothing of making several Atlantic trips a year in all safety and luxury may well cast their minds back to Newport's rat-infested, unhygienic ship. His contemporaries criticized him for having remained in Virginia thirteen weeks instead of

two, as a "ship idely loytering": but, apart from that visit to Powhatan and the necessary business at the colony, it was essential to give the unhappy seamen some respite before starting back. We have no further details as to the weather up the English Channel, but it is only fair to suppose that, being the middle of May, light head-winds, which so often prevail at that time, may have delayed her.

It would have been well if Newport had taken home also certain others. The President, Captain Ratcliffe, was not satisfactory and was too bent on scheming. In addition to this, he was a sick man and now "in discharging his Piece, brake and split his hand off." But the most unsuitable lot of settlers ever sent out to a young colony were those "gilded refiners with their golden promises," which Newport in that second trip had brought out. Initially it was of course the fault of the London Council who had inspired them with the idea that gold would be most easily found. Thus, amongst these unfortunately chosen emigrants always "there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold" that one wag "desired to be buried in the sands least they should by theire art make gold of his bones." Smith himself was infuriated with this class of men who neglected the real duties of planters for the get-rich-quick quest that failed to be substantiated.

After that 10th of April life at Jamestown settled down as best it might under the miserable circumstances of short rations, dying men and ill-fitted reinforcements. The Indians could never quite be trusted at the best of times, and caused annoyance by coming in from the mainland to the Jamestown peninsula pilfering tools and hatchets. These incidents frequently led to skirmishes, which did not make for peace. But with the returning of spring, Smith and Scrivener began the rebuilding of

the burnt Jamestown, repairing its church and the palisades. Between the two of them this community was turned into a busy hive for a while. And on the 20th of April, whilst all this was going on, whilst some were hewing down trees for the new houses, others making a fresh roof for the storehouse, some sowing the corn in the fields, there was raised a sudden alarm which caused every man to drop his job and leap to his arms.

But fears gave way to happiness when it was realized that the ship under sail coming up the James River was no Spanish enemy but the "*Phœnix*," under the command of Captain Francis Nelson, who had been long since given up for lost. She had started out from England in consort with Newport's ship, and had been detained by gales and head-winds. But Nelson had been careful to preserve the supplies intended for Virginia, and this broken voyage had no serious effects, for he had obtained additional food at the West Indies. He had brought, too, further emigrants as well as hatchets and other tools that were so valuable to planters. His arrival indeed did "so rauish vs with exceeding joy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted as our harts could wish," wrote the optimistic Smith, who was not immensely attracted towards mariners as a whole. Rather he seems to have found them grasping and more anxious to make money than to help in the prosperity of Virginia ; but Nelson he admired whole-heartedly for his honest dealing.

It was unfortunate that after being three months overdue Nelson should have missed Newport by just ten days, as the latter would have this further bad news of her non-arrival to offer the Council in London. But those two ships between them—officially known as "the First Supply"—had brought out 120 colonists, which included twenty-nine gentlemen, twenty-one labourers, half a dozen tailors ; six jewellers, refiners, perfumers and goldsmiths, a couple of apothecaries, a surgeon, and one

tobacco-pipe maker. Thus, if we add this supply to the survivors remaining of the original settlers, we have a total of 158, though from this must be deducted others who had died since the town was burnt down.

Now as it was hoped to send back in the "Phœnix" some good tidings as well as good freight, it was decided to explore that country of the Monacans lying up the James River right above the falls, where, you will remember, at the first arrival in Virginia the pioneer party had stopped short. It was hoped now that this unknown tract might furnish some commodities which would delight the Council in London. President Ratcliffe not caring to leave Jamesfort, it was arranged that Smith and Scrivener should go with seventy men. About a week was first spent training the men in marching, fighting and skirmishing tactics in the woods. But, just when the expedition was ready to start, Captain Nelson declined to go himself or to allow the volunteer mariners out of "Phœnix," unless payment was made for the demurrage of ship and men. There was further criticism by some that this exploration was unlawful, since only Captain Newport possessed the right to make discoveries. Captain Martin could think of nothing but finding that elusive mysterious "gold dirt" with which to lade the ship ; whilst the more practical-minded Smith preferred rather to fill her holds with cedar wood.

And, whilst the colony was thus in doubt, the exploration scheme was temporarily laid aside ; applying themselves to husbandry, fifty of the settlers went on felling trees and sowing their corn whilst the rest kept guard. Certain of the Indians in the meanwhile had become insolent and troublesome at the very entrance to the town and badly needed a sharp lesson : yet the instructions from England had been so strict that most of the Jamestown leaders feared to break even the letter of the law. But Smith, being unable to endure the Redskins'

spying, thieving of tools, laying of ambushes and so on, took prompt, sharp action such as the native properly understands. He hunted them up and down the peninsula, and even received the Council's permission to terrify them and cross-examine them by torture. One Indian prisoner Smith therefore had secured to the "Phoenix's" mainmast and threatened with muskets ; a second was then frightened by the rack and then by muskets, so by this means a confession of treachery was extracted. Smith admittedly acted drastically, but the customs of that age were not delicate, and he had to be firm.

Smith was no bully, but he could play the stern, iron master over men just as easily as he could be the diplomat and charming envoy. His whole mind and enthusiasm were so wrapped up in this frail, shallow-planted colony, that any Englishman or Indian who seemed to endanger this scarcely flourishing flower roused Smith's ire. Above all he was no tolerator of slackness, or nonsense, or folly. Now, just before leaving for England, Newport had been presented by the Great Powhatan with twenty turkeys—but on condition that Newport sent in return to the chief twenty swords. Newport immediately did so, in flagrant disobedience of the London Council's rule, and the action was very ill-advised, for it was in effect arming the Red man against the White.

Thus, when Powhatan presently sent Smith a score of turkeys hoping for the like number of swords, there was a cool refusal to reciprocate : Smith was not to be caught in that manner. This had annoyed the big chief who sent his men to lie in ambush by the Jamestown entrances in order to surprise the planters whilst at work and steal their arms. Thus, having now thoroughly put fear into these prisoners, but having fed them well, one day in May Pocahontas arrived from her father. To her Smith handed back these men alive and none the

worse, but in so doing he had the courtesy to pretend that it was only for the sake of this little princess that their lives had been spared. The net result of this was a diminution of those annoying attacks, the Indians went back home with their bows and arrows but with such a sense of fear and obedience that Smith's very name inspired a deep sense of respect.

By the end of May, then, it was determined to waste no more time. The "Phœnix" was given her cargo of cedar, and on June 2, 1608, Captain Nelson set sail for England, Smith at the same time starting off in an open barge of nearly 3-ton burthen which accompanied "Phœnix" down the river as far as Cape Henry. Nelson made a much better passage home, for he was back in London some time before July 7. "I heare not of any nouelties or other commodities she hath brought," wrote John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton,¹ "more than sweet woode." Just after loading and before sailing, Smith was able to send by her that *True Relation* to "a worshipfull friend of his in England," which was printed and entered for publication at Stationers' Hall on August 13 of that year as a news pamphlet. In the "Phœnix" was allowed to go as passenger to England the Captain Martin who was always so very ill and useless but had ever been so eager "to inioy the credit of his supposed Art of finding the golden Mine."

The rest of the settlers, benefiting by the summer weather, the superior organization and the consequently improved temper after the absence of mutinous plotting, created a hope that, in future, relations with the Indians might continue peaceful, and that the colony might now at last prosper.

¹ *S.P. Dom., James I* (1608), vol. 35, No. 13.

CHAPTER XIII

EXPLORING VIRGINIA



HUS free to leave Jamestown for a while and carry on with exploration, Smith was again most happy. With him in that barge went thirteen consisting of a "doctour of physicke," six gentlemen, three soldiers, a blacksmith and two fishing experts. The scene was to be that wonderful Chesapeake

Bay, nearly two hundred miles long, where so many rivers, estuaries and creeks join this truly magnificent sheet of water. Chesapeake, from the Algonquin K'tchisipik, means Great Water, and with its beautiful placid indentations bordered by fragments of woodland and green fields it is to this day a veritable paradise for yachts and small sailing craft. It has, however, a reputation for heavy squalls during the summer months, and during the War of 1812 one British frigate up the Potomac on the west side of the bay had her jib-boom blown away whilst her after deck was in a flat calm. But this bold estuary is especially notorious for its fierce north-westers and strange calms. Right at the southern end of Chesapeake's Bay Hampton to-day stands where in Smith's time the Indian village, Kecoughtan, existed.

On this bright 2nd of June Smith and his companions came along past Kecoughtan and across the sparkling waters to the eastern shore by Cape Charles, where they called a group Smith Islands, by which name they are still known to this day. This was the first of two expedi-

tions during which Smith was to make the first map of Virginia, that was such a wonderfully good representation of outline considering the time occupied. In it he was to give the location of the Indian tribes—a most valuable piece of information to all students of Virginia as it was when the first settlers arrived—and he managed also to get in the most important features of those various creeks, not altogether accurately, but uncommonly well. This map was afterwards printed in 1612 as the first to be issued to the world of this unknown area ; he was here engaged on pioneer work that was to be illuminative and valuable for future development.

Smith soon made friends ashore on this Virginian peninsula with the Accowmack Indians, and since he found they spoke the same language as Powhatan he was able to learn from them all about the bay, its islands and rivers. He then went sailing up the Chesapeake, looking into every inlet and creek that might be suitable some day for harbours or habitation. In the middle of the Bay lies Tangier Island—Smith called this group Russells Isles—and on sighting them he bore up, but before he could reach them down came one of those local squalls. “ Such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger, we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that ocean-like water.”

They came to the River Wighcocomoco on the eastern side of Chesapeake and thence to a headland which Smith named Point Ployer, in remembrance of the kindness which he had received eight years previously from the Earl of Ployer when passing through Brittany : and it was a feature of Smith’s character that even long after the event he never forgot a kindness. In our own day certain benefactors to Polar expeditions have in return received the compliment of certain geographical features being associated on the maps with their names ; but in this early seventeenth century, when the New World

was being revealed to a wondering Europe, the honour of having one's patronymic associated with fresh territory was most highly esteemed.

Now this little barge was rigged with a couple of masts, having a squaresail on each ; and whilst cruising in the neighbourhood there came another squall, accompanied by thunder, lightning and rain, so that the foremast was carried over the side. The seas became so bad that the craft nearly sank and was kept afloat only by energetic bailing. After two days they repaired the foresail with their shirts and continued their discoveries, finding ashore wolves, bears, deer "and other wild beasts." All this enterprise was interesting Smith vastly, not merely because it exactly fitted in with his venturesome spirit but for the reason that he was consciously gathering knowledge for the colony's future good. To those gentlemen of fashion, however, who had never roughed it before and ought never to have left England, the discomforts of this open-boat cruising began to be extremely unpleasant before the first fortnight was up.

They had come out from Jamestown imagining some picnic, but it annoyed them considerably to find that they often had to pull at the oars till fatigued, that their bread became saturated with rain and sea water ; so continual protests were made to the leader, who had to upbraid them severely. It was now the 13th of June and he reminded them how shameful it would be to return towards Jamestown with a month's provisions yet "scarce able to say where we haue bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I haue shared with you of the worst [that] is past ; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares, that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust : abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past

cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits : for returne I wil not (if God assist me) til I haue seene the Massawomekes, found Patawomeck, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse."

Several days of wind and weather made the lot of the malcontents no better, and some of them fell ill ; but on June 16 the river Patawomeck (better known to us as the Potomac) was discovered. The sight of this bold inlet eight or nine miles wide caused the murmurs to cease and the sick to recover. Smith, however, with his thoroughness and zeal for knowledge, was anxious to find out the river's name. For the first thirty miles there was no sign of a human being, but at length they came across a couple of Indians who conducted them up a creek towards Onawmament on the port hand where the woods had been ambuscaded with several hundred natives all " painted, grimed, and disguised, shovting, yelling and crying, as we rather supposed them so many deviles."

Smith soon settled all this exhibition of hostility ; for the firing of English muskets, the grazing of bullets, and the strange sound of these weapons echoing through the forest so amazed the Indians as to cause them to lay down their bows and arrows. Hostages were exchanged, friendly relationship was established, but it was learned that the malcontents at Jamestown had persuaded Powhatan to stir up these natives and betray Smith's party. Now the object in having come forth on this Chesapeake expedition was especially to find the Potomac, where it was alleged there was some " glistering mettal " ; and, further, to ascertain what other metals, furs, fruits, victuals and fishing ; also what tribes, woods and so on existed hereabouts. Another point to be settled was whether this long bay reached through to the Pacific Ocean.

About ten miles up country they found the mine, but

it proved of no value. Otters, beavers and sables were also seen ; but the fish were “ lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan; but,” quaintly adds the account written by Walter Russell (the expedition’s ‘ Doctour of Physicke’) and Anas Todkill (one of the soldiers) “ we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with.” They were not to be caught with frying-pans.

In the area between the Potomac and the Rappahannock rivers lay Tappahannock, on the banks of the latter, which Smith had first seen when he was a prisoner among the Indians that previous winter. Smith very much wanted to have visited again this scene, but the tide had ebbed, leaving the barge aground ; and then a number of fish were seen among the weeds on the sands, so he began spearing them with his sword, by which device the party got more in an hour than they could eat. Unfortunately Smith was stung by one of the fish, which poisoned him so seriously that his arm swelled. The companions became sorrow-stricken, awaited his death, and by his directions even began on a neighbouring island to dig his grave. But once again Smith was to enter the portals of death and come out : for Dr. Russell “ by the helpe of a precious oile ” eased the pain.

But having regard to his illness, and another of the party having broken his shin, it was decided that the expedition should now return to Jamestown. In spite of these depressing incidents, there was not absent a keen sense of humour ; for having passed next day the mouth of the Pamunkey (or York) River, they reached Kecoughtan village by Point Comfort. Here the natives, seeing Captain Smith hurt and the barge full of bows, arrows, swords, furs, came to the conclusion that the Englishmen had been fighting some tribe. But which tribe ? “ Finding

their aptnes to beleue, we failed not (as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might affright them," so pretended that all this spoil had been obtained from the Masawomekes. This yarn sped faster up the James River than the barge, and the latter having reached Weraskoyack on the southern bank a short distance below Jamestown, they there trimmed her "with painted streamers and such devises, we made the Fort iealous of a Spanish frigot." Smith had lied to the Indians intentionally. It was a part of his policy for getting the upper hand over them with a view to the security of Jamestown.

It was now July 21, and they had been away since June 2. Smith was next to find that all those who had come out from England in that "First Supply" under Newport and Nelson were ill. As for the rest of the planters they were either lame or infuriated against "their sillie President" Ratcliffe, whose unreasonable cruelty, prodigality of precious victuals and foolish building of a fine house in the woods had worked everybody up to such a pitch that they would have mutinied had not Smith returned when he did. The immediate result of this event, with the good news which had been brought by the Chesapeake expedition, was to raise Smith still further in the estimation of the colony as the one man who could lead and rule. They insisted that Ratcliffe should be deposed and that Captain Smith should take over the rule. It is, however, very characteristic of the latter that, in spite of his natural gifts for governing, his heart was all the time in the direction of discovery.

Therefore he accepted the honour, but for the present made his particular friend, Scrivener, acting President, whilst Smith himself carried on with his further discoveries of the Chesapeake. Before setting out he was careful to redistribute those provisions which had been wrongly and selfishly hoarded, and he appointed a more honest staff of officers to assist Scrivener. The

latter was at present a sick man, in delirium, and the rest of the company were suffering from the lassitude and weakness caused by the intense summer heat, but Smith, having forgotten about his poisoned arm and turning his back on the Jamestown slackers, went aboard the little barge and set off to complete his exploration, which had been temporarily interrupted.

On this trip he took with him five of the six gentlemen who had previously accompanied him ; but of the remaining seven only four belonged to the first party. Such was his eagerness to be under way that he had remained at Jamestown only from July 21 to 24, yet after dropping down to Kecoughtan he was held up two or three days by head-winds ; but he took the opportunity of impressing the Indians with the wonderful abilities of the White Man, for several rockets were fired that “ so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted.”

So, during this second journey, they were able to proceed with confidence past Point Comfort, the Potomac, and right up till they encountered seven or eight canoes full of Massawomeke Indians. Now, out of the barge’s complement of thirteen, half of them had become sick men since leaving Point Comfort, being of those unseasoned settlers who had come out with the last supply. Since it seemed as if the Indian canoes meant to attack, Smith proceeded under sail and kept the invalids under tarpaulin. Then, very artfully, he had their hats put on sticks showing over the barge’s side and between hats a man in order to make it appear that the crew were numerous. This so frightened the Indians that they fled.

On entering the River Tockwogh towards the north-east end of Chesapeake yet another tribe’s acquaintance was made, from whom Smith obtained information of the Sasquesahanocks, a tribe who lived two days higher

up than the barge could proceed owing to rocks. The river Susquehanna, as it is better known to-day, flows into the head of Chesapeake Bay, and thus Smith had now explored from the south to the north. But it was in accordance with his exhaustive zeal for completion that he should send an invitation to the Sasquesahanocks persuading them to come to the head of the bay. After a few days sixty of this giant-like people did come with presents of venison, three-foot tobacco-pipes, and so on. It was Smith's custom to have daily prayers with a psalm, "at which solemnitie the poor Salvages much wondred." But after a short stay and having learned from them information concerning people who "inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of Canada : and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade," they parted the best of friends, Smith promising to visit them again next year.

Having made so many explorations, he selected names that suggested himself and his friends. Thus that river up which the Massawomekes had fled, and is probably to be identified with what we nowadays call Gun Powder River, was designated Willoughby's river¹ in commemoration of his own natal place in Lincolnshire as well as of his honoured friend, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby. The rocky portion of the Susquehanna River was named Smith's Falls, various other features—headlands, islands and bays—were named after his companions in the barge. Thus, for example, those which are marked in our maps to-day as Poole (more accurately Powell) Islands were after Nathaniel Powell. And wherever Smith reached the point of furthest penetration he cut in the trees crosses to mark the fact, and in certain places left notes in holes of the trees to signify that Englishmen had been there.

¹ Cp. also Willoughby Spit, Bank and Bay opposite Point Comfort.

Having thus investigated all the creeks, estuaries and rivers worth noting, Smith took his people to explore the Patuxent river and thence to the Rappahannock river ("which many called the Toppahanock"). This latter was followed right up as far as the boat would float, crosses being set up and the party's names engraved on the trees. But before reaching the river's head Richard Fetherstone, one of the gentlemen, died. They buried him "with a volley of shot" in a bay which they named after him. It was on the next day that there was an attack made on them by the Mannahoack Indians, during which one of the latter was shot in the knee. But Smith had brought on this second trip from Jamestown a surgeon named Anthony Bagnall, who accompanied them in order to look after Smith's poisoned arm. Bagnall now was able to dress and heal the Indian's wounds. Eventually peace was concluded with this tribe, and then the barge set sail down the river and went into the Piankatank river to anchor for the night.

The next stopping place was Gosnold's Bay, to the north of Point Comfort, for the wind had died away and they had begun to row. But during the night all of a sudden came one of those squalls with the usual thunder and rain, so they had to clear out and none in that barge ever expected to see Jamestown again. Smith ran the craft before the wind, the night was pitch black, and it was only the lightning flashes which enabled them to avoid getting ashore; at length by the flashing they were able to pick up Point Comfort where they spent a little time refreshing themselves. When one thinks of these gallants and others living and sleeping in a crowded craft of less than three tons, with no deck or cabin, always under way, with poor food as the rule, no charts, and always in danger either from the natives or the coast, one cannot but admire Smith for his incessant driving power, and his shipmates for their patient endurance.

Quite apart from his pluck (when he had every right to remain behind at Jamestown to get fit from his poisoning) and his example in making others keen and industrious, Smith had by these two coastal cruises made invaluable contributions in regard to the future of Virginia. He had gathered such quantities of data concerning the geography, the peoples, the products of Chesapeake territory that he was easily the greatest European expert on the colony, as indeed he had been the first White Man to show himself to one tribe after another. But on the top of all this must be added that touch of genius which first impresses the savage man by a display of strength and the exactment of punishment where due, but afterwards secures the loyalty and friendship and admiration of the very men who yesterday were violent enemies to the colonizers. It has been the peculiar gift of the English nation to employ such tactics in her overseas expansion to the mutual benefit of dominions and mother country ; and on the whole, notwithstanding some appalling and ever regrettable mistakes, this policy has worked well. Smith, with his thoroughly English birth and upbringing, but his mind and body exceptionally trained by active service and lengthy travel on the Continent, his will so strengthened and tempered in the furnace of adversity, was able to create a tradition in America that needed only faithful following to ensure future prosperity.

But, like Lord Nelson, nothing save perfection and outright completion in carrying out a job ever satisfied this remarkable man. Having arrived at the entrance of the James River, it occurred to him that some further useful work might be done on the southern shore where dwelt the Chesapeake and Nandsamund tribes, whom the planters knew by name only. But now " we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad. So setting sayle for the Southerne

shore, we sayled vp the narrow river vp the country of Chisapeack" for half a dozen miles, evidently up the Elizabeth River, but saw no people whatsoever. Returning to James River they coasted the shore towards Nandsamund and at the mouth of that tributary espied some Indians.

Having proceeded several miles up the Nandsamund they sighted cornfields on the western shore, and it was thought that friendship had been established with the people, though treachery was afoot. Some of the natives were ashore and some in canoes, and presently came a shower of arrows against Smith's barge ; but the Englishmen fired at their opponents, causing most of those in the canoes to swim ashore. The enemy being thus compelled to retire behind some trees, Smith seized the deserted canoes and moored them in the river. Fortunately no Englishman had been hit, although the surgeon, Anthony Bagnall, received an arrow in his hat, and another man one in his sleeve. The barge now lay by the moored canoes, and Smith began to ponder whether it would be better to burn them or to let the enemy purchase them back by food for Jamestown.

He made a beginning to hack the canoes to bits, whereupon the Indians laid down their bows and showed signs of peace. Smith informed them that they must deliver up their chief's bows and arrows, a chain of pearl and four hundred baskets of corn ; otherwise canoes, corn, houses and all the natives' possessions should be burnt. The reply was in the affirmative provided they had a canoe ; Smith therefore let one boat adrift and told them to swim to fetch her, but he would continue to smash up the craft until their promise was fulfilled. They cried out imploring him to stay his hand, and finally brought him their bows, arrows and as many baskets of corn as the barge could carry. Thus peace was made, the Indians had learnt to respect both the strength and

word of the White Man, trade had been established, and now the barge continued up the James River, arriving back at the colony on September 7, 1608. Thus, yet again, Smith had acted harshly—even perhaps cruelly—but he had no other alternative. The situation demanded firmness.

It was a relief to Smith that Scrivener was now restored to health as were some others, and that this acting president had gathered in the harvest; but rain had unfortunately spoiled part of the provisions in the store, some of the planters were ill, many had died, and the late president, Ratcliffe, was in prison for mutiny. Smith, by the will of the council and request of the company three days later, received the letters patent and took up the office of president, and began his reforms at once. Thus he stopped the building of Ratcliffe's palace, rethatched the store-house, began preparing new buildings for the next "supply" that would arrive from England before long, altered the shape of the fort, renewed the watch, exercised every Saturday the whole company in military tactics on an adjacent plain which became known as Smithfield, and it was by no means a disadvantage that a crowd of Indians would collect to watch the excellent musket practice.

Thus, gradually by sheer personality Smith had risen from the depths of suspicion to become the colony's third and most efficient ruler. By his incessant thoughtfulness, his energy, firmness, far-sighted explorations and intrepid bravery he had done more in setting the young colony on its feet than had Wingfield and Ratcliffe together. And not the least important aspect was that, on the one hand, by all these boat trips and all that walking on foot through regions where never a white man had trod, the native had learned if not to love yet at least to respect the new-comers from Europe; but, further, by never missing an opportunity to gather

intelligence concerning even the most distant parts of this Virginia known to one tribe or another, Smith had amassed a body of knowledge that had to be gathered before real progress could be made, otherwise it was like working in the dark. If all Raleigh's schemes had ended disastrously, this other undertaking had succeeded not because its personnel or its equipment was superior, but for the reason that among that company of idle gallants and ill-fitted planters there was a man sent whose name was John, whose character was as tough as a blacksmith's iron, but his enthusiasm as invaluable as refiner's gold.

Strength and endurance, worth and reliability, were in that active body ; and the pity was that those inadequately informed theorists who controlled affairs of the Virginia Company from London had neither the sense nor imagination to leave him alone with a free hand. Instead of giving the plantation time to mature and develop along steady principles, those London Councillors were in too great a hurry to see results ; and the means thereto must be by concentrating on the discovery (a) of gold, (b) of that passage to the South Sea. Nothing short of this could satisfy these authorities, and thus with all their ignorance of Virginia, and its limitations, they were to try and impose their will on John Smith, whose special knowledge was beyond all question. Thus sooner or later, but having regard to the new president's nature it must happen pretty speedily, there would be a clash of temperaments with the inevitable loss to a community that so much needed careful guidance.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF PIONEERING



N October 1608, that is to say only a few weeks after Smith had been confirmed in his presidency, there arrived once more from England Captain Newport with his ship bringing the "Second Supply." Between this and the double "First Supply" there had been as many as twenty-eight deaths, chiefly attributable to the inefficient commissariat department and the excessive summer heat. Newport, however, came with seventy more colonists, so that the population at Jamestown now numbered a couple of hundred and was therefore larger than ever it had been. We may anticipate events by saying at once that owing to Smith's careful control the death-rate went down considerably, and apart from drowning accidents not more than six or seven succumbed before the "Third Supply" arrived. System, management, firmness, fearlessness and yet conciliatory tact, were to prove their inestimable value as opposed to haphazard, wasteful and self-seeking rule.

Of these newly-come seventy, there were two—Captains Peter Winne and Richard Waldo—who were to be councillors. In addition to the gentlemen and craftsmen, labourers and boys, there came Mistress Forest (wife either of George or most probably Thomas Forest, gentleman) with her maid Anne Burrowes. Thus

for the first time did Englishwomen¹ come out to settle in New Virginia and remain. Presently Anne Burrowes was married at Jamestown to John Laydon, who had come out with the very first settlers as labourer. It can therefore be put on record that here was the first Virginia wedding, and in the truest sense of the word the settlement of young America had begun. Among the seventy were also some Dutchmen and Poles, whose presence will be mentioned later.

Newport had been sent with instructions not to return without a lump of gold, or definite information concerning the Southern Sea, or one of that long since lost company which had been sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh. The last mentioned task was quite as impracticable as the other two, for briefly this is what had happened, and it is convenient that at this stage we should consider with greater detail the relationship between the Jamestown and the Roanoke settlements. Scant mention was made of the latter in a previous page, but with the arrival of the "Second Supply" Roanoke and the earlier plantation attempts receive suddenly a fresh interest, and we can see into the minds of the Council directing matters from London.

The story begins with Giovanni Cabot and his dominant desire to search for new lands across the sea. This Genoese, you will remember, came to England and received from our Henry VII letters-patent to take possession, on behalf of England, of any unknown territory. Setting out from Bristol in 1497 he crossed the Atlantic, sighted the shores of what was to be called Newfoundland, and after coasting along for three hundred leagues came back to England with the news. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed with a squadron, took possession of Newfoundland, but went down before

¹ Virginia Dare and her mother had been in "Ould" Virginia but had long since disappeared. See page 180.

he could get back home. At this stage Sir Walter Raleigh enters with his colonizing projects. Obtaining letters-patent, he persuaded a number of distinguished English gentlemen to adventure with him so as to find a suitable place for a plantation. A ship and a pinnace were fitted out, which he sent under Captain Philip Amadas and Captain Arthur Barlow.

These left the Thames on April 27, 1584, and went by the usual sailing-ship route, first of all south to the Canaries (which they reached on May 10) and then having picked up the North-east trades reached the West Indies on June 10. A good deal of ill-health was suffered owing to the tropics, but on July 2 their nostrils smelt a delicate land perfume and soon espied Florida. They sailed on and on, but could find no harbour till they reached the coast of what is now called North Carolina, with its sand bars, behind which are the shallow Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and low marshy country. With difficulty they got their ships inside by one of the inlets to Pamlico Sound and anchored; and then, after thanks to God, they went to examine the land and take possession of it on behalf of Queen Elizabeth.

On the third day they saw the first natives, rowed ashore and fetched one of them on board, entertained him well and received from him presents of fish. On the following day came other boats, and the expedition learned that this country was called Wingandacoa and then Captain Amadas went exploring in the ship's boat, discovering Roanoke Island, which is separated from the mainland by Croatan Sound. This they reckoned as seven leagues distant from "the harbour where we entred." With the luck which belongs to beginners they had thus managed to navigate past a coast that is notoriously dangerous and frequented by heavy weather. The expedition got back to England about the middle of

September, 1584, and thus for the first time a temporary footing had been made by Englishmen on the North American continent. The net result was that a way to America had been found, that a dangerous series of entrances into Pamlico Sound had been discovered, that the soil of the country was proved to be fertile and rich with timber, and that there were numerous bays, inlets and islands. This caused very great interest in England, and it pleased Elizabeth with feminine vanity to have this region called no longer Wingandacoa but Virginia.

In the following year Sir Walter Raleigh sent out a second expedition, consisting of seven ships, under the direction of his relative, Sir Richard Grenville ; and among the senior officers were such distinguished men as Sir Ralph Lane ; Thomas Cavendish ; the pioneer, Philip Amadas ; Thomas Haryot ; and others. The squadron left Plymouth on April 9, picked up the Canaries fourteen days out, reached Dominica on May 7, sighted the Florida coast on May 20, nearly got wrecked on Cape Fear and got inside Pamlico Sound. Amadas in the flagship went on to the Croatan Sound, further explorations were made along the mainland, and finally Grenville, leaving behind under Ralph Lane 108 colonists consisting of 20 gentlemen and the rest, sailed home, reaching Plymouth on September 18, 1585.

This colony settled themselves on Roanoke Island from August 17 of that year until June 18, 1586, and during this period they even went as far north as a village in the Chesapeake country, by means of the northern end of the shallow sound. Having regard to subsequent events, it is not without importance to note that they regarded this northern territory as excellent for settling on, with fertile soil. This valuable information was in their possession when Gosnold, Smith and the others were to start the Virginia Company and

influenced them in seeking an area somewhere near to that latitude.

In view of another boat expedition which we shall shortly see Smith despatching, it is also to be mentioned that Ralph Lane penetrated to the north-west from Roanoke Island as far as Chawonock where the channel was as the Thames at Lambeth ; further to the southward dwelt the Mangoacks, whose region will likewise presently concern us. Lane was particularly anxious to visit the neighbourhood for there "is a mine of copper they call Wassador ; they say they take it out of a riuver that falleth swiftly from high rocks." And I think we can see quite clearly how the London Virginia Company which sent out Newport, Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield and comrades, was affected in its policy by the meagre information that already existed. For Lane had summed up his report as follows : "I conclude a good Mine, or the South Sea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world : otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour than yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any. Master Vaughan no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master Heriot that the riuver Mora-tocks head, either riseth by the Bay of Mexico, or very neare the South Sea, or some part that openeth neare the same."

In this we have that tradition of the mines and the Pacific Ocean's proximity still perpetuated like an undying legend. But the Roanoke colony fell on hard times, famine seized it, and parties were sent to keep a watch for any ships that might come along the Atlantic coast. Thus, when Sir Francis Drake, in June, 1586, sailed along and there seemed no hope of Sir Richard Grenville returning, it was unanimously decided to accompany Drake back to England. Lane's party there-

fore set sail on June 18 and got to Portsmouth on July 27.

Haryot reported that in the visited country there were such commodities as iron ore, "copper that held silver," pearls, dyes, and tobacco which the Indians "esteeme their chiefe physicke." Now Lane and his people had really abandoned hope just a little too soon, for on Easter Day, in that same year 1586, a ship freighted plentifully with all necessary supplies had sailed from England and did actually arrive at the colony. After seeking up and down the country, they found of course no one, so sailed back to England with all the provisions. About a fortnight after this ship had left America came also Sir Richard Grenville with three well-filled vessels. Grenville was surprised to find neither the Easter Day ship nor any of Lane's men whom Grenville had left in the previous year. Inasmuch as the colony was uninhabited and he was unwilling to lose possession of the claimed territory, he now landed a few men on to Roanoke Island with adequate provisions for two years and then returned to England.

In the following spring there sailed from England another expedition of three ships under John White, who related that "we went the old course by the West Indies, and Simon Ferdinando our continuall Pilot mistaking Virginia for Cape Fear, we fayled not much to haue beene cast away, vpon the conceit of our all-knowing Ferdinando, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captain Stafford," who had previously been out with Lane's party and returned with the latter. White's ship arrived off its destination at Hatteras on July 22, 1587, and then forty of them went to Roanoke hoping to find the fifty men whom Grenville had left. What they discovered, however, were the houses overgrown with weeds, the fort defaced, and the bones of one man. It was learnt that the fifty Englishmen had

been set upon by three hundred natives, that some of the colonists had been thus slain, but the remainder had departed to some unknown destination.

The domestic details may be mentioned in connection with John White's 1587 trip. On August 13 Manteo, one of the Indians (and a good friend to the English), was baptized, being the first of his race to become a Christian. Five days later Mistress Eleanor Dare, wife of Ananias Dare and daughter of John White, gave birth to a daughter whilst at Roanoke. Her husband was one of the party of about 115 who had landed with this lot of planters, and one can but admire the pluck of a woman to have crossed the Atlantic in such an uncomfortable vessel. Her daughter was the first Christian ever to be born in this Southern colony and was accordingly named Virginia.

Having thus put the band of settlers to inhabit Roanoke Island, the three ships prepared for their return to England, and White was requested to proceed to England also, as no one was so likely to obtain the necessary supplies. The setting out was attended by accidents, for whilst lying at anchor waiting, they were caught in such a gale that the flagship had to cut her cables, whilst most of her best hands were ashore. She put to sea but it was six days before she could make the land again. When, finally, that smaller unit of the squadron, a flyboat, was winding in her cable, twelve of the crew were thrown from the capstan by the breaking of a capstan-bar and some of them so injured that they never recovered. On attempting to weigh a second time, the same thing occurred, so they ultimately cut the cable. Nor was the return voyage quite uneventful, for she was shorthanded with only fifteen men. She and the flagship kept together as far as the Azores, but the flyboat's crew became so weak as to be unable to work ship, and she was driven to the west of Ireland ; the

other two vessels duly reached England the same year.

John White, with three ships and supplies for the Roanoke Island settlement, sailed from England on March 20, 1589, south by Mogador on the north-west African coast and thence employed the North-east trades across to Dominica in the West Indies. It was not until August 3 that they fell in with the low sandy islands of the Atlantic shore of North America, anchoring twelve days later outside the Pamlico Sound, expecting to see the smoke of Roanoke colony. Ordnance was fired to give the latter warning, but when the ships' boats landed there was not a sign of any inhabitant. Unfortunately as another journey was being made ashore, the flagship's boat was caught by a sea when crossing the bar running before a hard north-easter. She was half filled yet managed to escape.

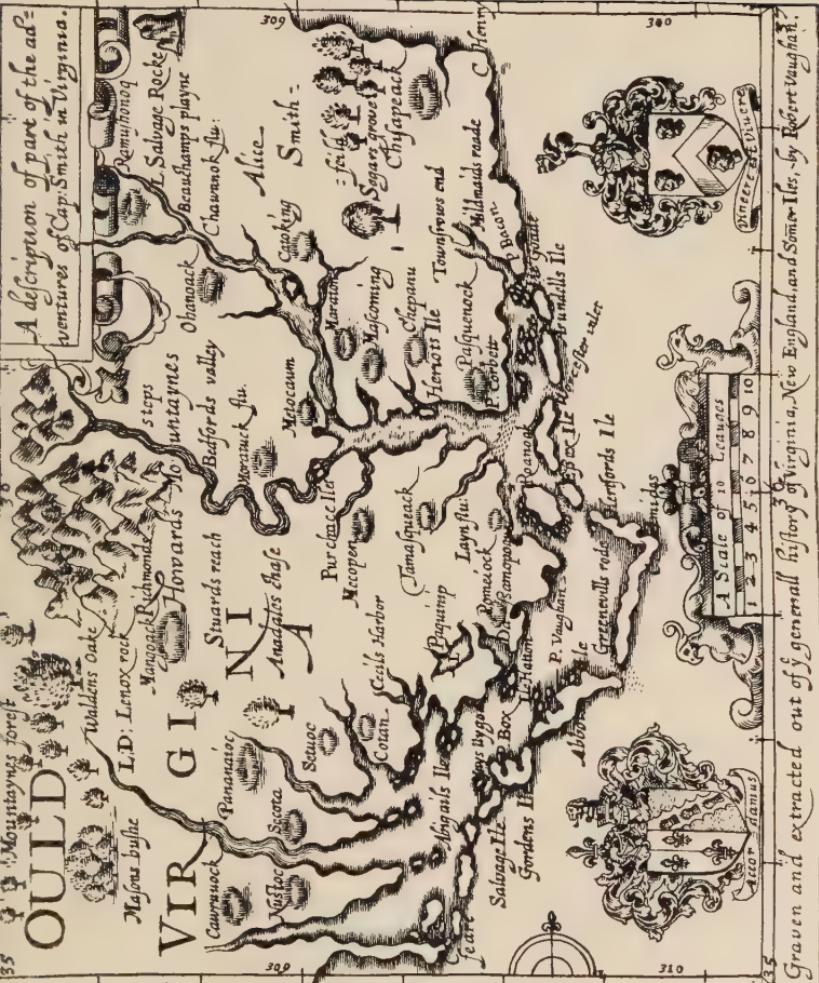
The second boat, however, was not so well handled, and when half-way across the bar was capsized, some of her crew managed to catch hold of her, but the next wave threw her on to the bar where those who let go of her were drowned. Four who could swim were picked up by the first boat, but the other seven perished. After this there was some difficulty in persuading others to go ashore, but at last a couple of boats put off to Roanoke and still there was no sign of human existence. White had arranged before leaving here last year that if the planters should, as they intended, give up Roanoke and go fifty miles inland they should mark the name of that place on a Roanoke tree, door or post. And should they be in distress, they were also to make over the name a cross.

White went up and down the island and at last found carved in Roman letters "C. R. O." He could, all the same, discover no cross of distress, but farther on he noticed that their houses had been pulled down and the

place strongly palisaded. Upon one of the posts he observed the letters C R O A T A N, still without a cross, and inferred that they had moved to Croatan which gives its name to the sound on which Roanoke is situated. In the meantime the sailors found that various chests had been hidden, dug up again and their contents scattered, some of which belonged to White himself. All this was very disquieting, but it was a comfort to suppose that his daughter, son-in-law and the planters generally were safe, so White and his companions returned aboard their ships. But on the next morning when getting under way for Croatan, his ship broke her cable and lost a couple of anchors, which left them with only one. Luckily this anchor held just in time to prevent her from drifting on to a lee shore. It was now decided that, as she needed more ground tackle and the provisions were nearly finished, she and the other ships should clear out and make their way across the Atlantic, intending the next spring to return and seek out their colonial countrymen. But the latter were never seen again, and from 1590 until 1602 England gave up Virginia as a hopeless proposition until Captain Gosnold set sail from Dartmouth and reached New England. That, however, is not part of the present investigation and we shall deal with New England exploration in another chapter. We are, however, now in a position to appreciate what was in the minds of that Virginia Council in London as distinct from Smith's aims.

Whilst the latter was bent on the constructive policy of making the Jamestown settlement self-supporting ; whilst he was doing all he could to find out the natural resources of the neighbourhood, to establish trade with the Indians with a view always to obtaining adequate supplies of corn, yet never relying on the natives' honesty or freedom from treachery, the authorities in London were in a state of impatience and wanted tangible results

A description of part of the ad-
ventures of Cap. Smith in Virginia.



MAP OF OLD VIRGINIA

Between Cape Fear and Cape Henry, shewing Roanoke Island

Graven and extracted out of generall history of Virginia and Somer Iles, by Robert Vaughan.

before the preliminary work was really completed. Profiting by the inexperience of those who had first attempted a plantation in the neighbourhood of latitude 36° North, and by the good fortune in having sighted the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, Smith's original party had fallen upon the right kind of harbour. The foundation of the Virginia scheme of 1606-7 was thus reasonable, even if the location of Jamestown, with its fever-breeding soil, was ill-chosen. But, whilst Smith with a wider and longer vision was looking forward to a powerful and some day expanding colony, those in England wished at once to obtain returns for their investment and enterprise. It was thus that there occurred such clashing of temperaments between officialdom, without complete knowledge, and the strong-man-on-the-spot anxious to do his duty but chafing against interference. Such situations have since occurred many times throughout history in regard to the conduct of naval, military and colonial campaigns. And those who know the story of the Battle of Coronel are aware, even in these days of telegraph cables and wireless, how difficult it is to effect perfect, unequivocal comprehension between home authority and its distant representative.

It will be convenient, in order to prevent confusion, to call that area from about Lat. 34° extending to just short of Cape Henry by the name of Old Virginia, for this section beginning from Cape Fear (as it is still marked on all maps) represents the sphere of those fatal Raleigh attempts ; and Old Virginia, with its central attraction at Roanoke Island, was the title by which that land was known in Smith's time. In his *Map of Ould Virginia* he adds this note : "The Countrey wee now call Virginia beginneth at Cape Henry distant from Roanoack 60 miles, where was Sr. Walter Raleigh's plantation." Such appellations as Cape Amidas, Heriot's Isle, Point

Vaughan, Greenevil's Rode thereon marked were a reminder of its first discoverers. Old Virginia, then, was for the present dead ; but Virginia was a young and virile creature.

It was therefore a little hard on Smith to learn that with the arrival in October 1608 of Newport the instructions were to find gold, discover the South Sea, search for the missing Raleigh planters, crown Powhatan, and employ the Poles and Dutchmen to make pitch, tar, glass and other articles. Each of these duties could be well argued both for and against ; but the first and all-important consideration was not to waste time on such projects but rather be employed in obtaining all the possible corn from the natives now that the latter had gathered their harvest and they were friendly disposed towards the settlers. "To loose that time, spend that victuall we had, tire and starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs : how or by whom they were invented I know not."

But "the direction from England" had to be obeyed, even though Smith and Newport found themselves in direct opposition. Notwithstanding that the former was President, yet the Council at Jamestown were rather in agreement with the latter. And first of all came this absurd notion of carrying out Powhatan's coronation. Smith was anxious to give proof that he would both obey superior authority and that he was not, as alleged, frightened of the Indians whom he was accused by Newport of having treated with cruelty. So taking only four companions (whereas Newport dared not go with less than a hundred and twenty), Smith went a dozen miles overland to Werowocomoco, crossed the Pamunk (or York) River in an Indian canoe, and was entertained first by Pocahontas until Powhatan returned from up country. Smith informed the latter that

presents had arrived from England and requested the Indian chief to visit "Father" Newport ; but with great dignity and independence Powhatan preferred that the presents should come to him. "I also am a King, and this is my land : eight days I will stay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him." All this was a dreadful waste of precious time, but Smith went back to Jamestown, the presents were sent most of a hundred miles by water, whilst Smith, Newport and others went by land to Werowocomoco.

On the next day followed that comic coronation, when the presents were made. "But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receaue his crowne. . . . At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and Newport put the Crowne on his head." And after obtaining only fourteen bushels of corn, the Englishmen returned to Jamestown. This fatuous ceremony, and the accompanying gift of scarlet cloak and bedroom furniture, had been carried out in accordance with the London directors' absurd conception ; and it was to have no lasting benefit to the colony, as Smith well realized. How could those people in England, who had never seen American Indians, possibly understand the subtle mentality of the savage in the way that the new President of the colony comprehended him ?

Arrived back at Jamestown, Newport's ship was unloaded and, whilst Smith remained at the fort with eighty men to reload her with commodities for England, Newport, taking a hundred and twenty people, set out up the James River in that quest for gold and the Southern Sea. After reaching the falls they marched forty miles, discovered a couple of Indian villages, searched many places for mines and even dug into the earth. William Callicut, a refiner with the party, tried to persuade his companions that he had extracted a small quantity of silver, but Newport's expedition had failed. It came

back to Jamestown disillusioned, the men in bad health, tired, starving and discontented.

Smith then got them busy with the other jobs. Some were employed in the manufacture of glass, tar and pitch ; others he took five miles down the river to hew trees, and in this work he employed Gabriel Beadle and John Russell, two gallants who had just come out with Newport's last supply, " and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions ; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters : making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell ; but the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe¹ to drowne the eccho ; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to haue every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to haue a Cann of water powred down his sleeue, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an othe¹ in a weeke."

Such was Smith's stern discipline, but he proved that thirty gentlemen volunteers did better work in one day than a hundred compulsory labourers. Then, on his return to Jamestown, Smith found that time was here being wasted, no corn being fetched and Newport's ship lying idle. He therefore went himself with a couple of barges up river to the Chickahominy country and in spite of native reluctance obtained what was required ; yet, instead of the Jamestown community being grateful for having been saved from famine, some became jealous of his ability. Newport and Ratcliffe even contemplated that he should be deposed from the presidency.

Another difficulty to worry him was the control of

¹ Oath.

those sailors in Newport's ship who would purloin the colony's axes, chisels, hoes, pickaxes, powder, shot to sell ; or they would barter butter, cheese, beef, pork, aqua-vitæ, beer, biscuit and oatmeal with the natives for furs, baskets and so forth, which would be taken to England and sold privately. But the seamen of this time were a rough, unruly lot, and it is necessary only to quote from two of Smith's contemporaries. Thus Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613) wrote of the sailor : " He sees God's wonders in the deep, but so as rather they appear his playfellows than stirrers of his zeal. Nothing but hunger and hard rocks can convert him, and then but his upper deck neither ; for his hold neither fears nor hopes. . . . His keel is the emblem of his conscience. Till it be split he never repents ; and then no farther than the land allows him." So, also, that other Lincolnshire captain, Sir William Monson (1568-1643) in his celebrated *Naval Tracts* remarked : " The seamen are stubborn or perverse when they perceive their commander is ignorant of the discipline of the sea, and cannot speak to them in their own language." In Jamestown it was particularly annoying that, whilst food for the planters was scarce and difficult to obtain, the sailors aboard the supply ship had always their meat, drink and wages and this illicit but profitable trade. Smith put a stop to the latter, and presently sent Scrivener to fetch more corn and red roots from Werowocomoco.

Then, having loaded the ship with pitch, tar, glass, frankincense, boards and wainscot, he despatched Newport back to England. This was about November, 1608, and she evidently reached home during the following January ; for John Chamberlain writing to Dudley Carleton on January 23 says : " Here is likewise a ship newly come from Virginia with some petty commodities and hope of more, as divers sorts of woode for wainscot

and other vses, sope ashes, some pitch and tarre, certain unknowne kindes of herbes for dieng, not without suspicion (as they terme yt) of Cuchenilla."

But in that ship did Smith send also three important documents, consisting of a letter, a " Mappe of the Bay and Rivers " which was the result of his boat-voyages in and out of the Chesapeake, and a duplicate of this map. These are of such interest that we must examine them in some detail, and to the third of them belongs an historical value that has been inadequately appreciated.





CHAPTER XV

THE CORN SUPPLY



HE epistle written by Smith to the Treasurer and Council of Virginia in London was a plain, honest statement of a loyal officer who felt that the colony was being treated not quite fairly, and its administration unjustly criticized.

"I received your letter," he began, "wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your consents, and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes ; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selues : and that we must expresly follow your instructions sent by Captaine Newport : the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer."

The factions, he proceeded, it was impossible to prevent. He referred lightly to the hazards that he had run, pointed out that, though he was directly opposed to the instructions sent through Newport yet he had them carried out and the Council now saw that they were a mistake. Of the £2000 spent on this last voyage, the colony had not received the value of £100. The undertaking "to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold, or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh : at our Consulta-

tion I told them was as likely as the rest." The coronation of Powhatan and the presents he criticized severely. " Giue me leaue to tell you I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe."

As to the provisions sent out to Jamestown they were not worth £20, and yet there were 200 people to be fed. " For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that." In order that the Council in London should know that Smith had made as much discovery as Newport, he sent this " Mappe " with an account of the country and peoples. He also sent some specimens of what he took to be iron ore. The rest of the letter dealt chiefly with the matter of personnel. He complained that Newport was paid £100 a year for carrying news, whereas " every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he." Captain Ratcliffe, whose real name Sicklemore was that by which he was now always known, Smith sent home in this ship, lest the company should cut his throat.

Bluntly Smith informed the directors that when they sent another " supply " he would rather have thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and men to dig up trees, than a thousand fellows of the kind that had so far arrived. The unnecessary cost of wages to sailors through Newport's so long lingering at Jamestown, the fact of having to give him corn out of their small supply for his return voyage, and the inadequate amounts which the ship had brought to Jamestown, were points which the writer carefully stressed. " I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receiue, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please ; els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with any thing." And, finally, he summed up : " These are the causes that haue kept vs in Virginia, from laying

such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction ; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returns."

Smith's map of Virginia, with nothing to go upon except that which he obtained through his own eyes and what he heard from the Indians, is alone evidence of the new president's industry ; and he was careful to discriminate between the geographical information obtained at first hand and that which was only " by relation " ; a cross signifying the dividing line. It was an exceedingly praiseworthy effort to have done all that travelling, and systematized the intelligence thus obtained, for the benefit of those at home and all who should come out in later ships. Within the entrance between Capes Henry and Charles " is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) [that] may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit," he wrote modestly eight years later, when he was explaining that " Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to Florida."

But most intriguing is it to note that in Newport's ship he sent a duplicate of this map to Henry Hudson, and that shortly after receiving it Hudson went to Holland, whence he set forth on March 25, 1609, on that voyage during which he was in the little " Half Moon " to explore what we now call the Hudson River, as far as Albany. Hudson was trying to find that mythical waterway across the American continent to the Southern Sea, and it was entirely owing to John Smith that this idea had been suggested through the information despatched by Virginia's president. Of Hudson John Smith had the highest regard, and in *A description of New England* referred to him as an English mariner who " did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know of." Thus there is an intimate connection

between the northern and southern states of modern North America in respect of two very great English adventurers.

But, with the approach of winter, Smith's duties were such as required anxious attention and most careful performance. Still hampered by that ever present need, Jamestown would have fared disastrously had not her president proved himself both father and mother to these men of childlike helplessness. The primary need was to ensure adequate corn supplies for the coming bitter months, but this food was obtainable through the willingness of the Indians only ; for that which was grown at Jamestown was of really small account. The problem that must sooner or later arise was this. The Indians would realize that the pale-faced English people could be starved out and driven from the country merely by the former declining to sell : thus the natives were in a very strong strategic position. It was accordingly Smith's delicate task to apply just that amount of compulsion which would cause the particular tribes to regard these settlers with awe and obedience ; yet at the same time this force should not be so excessive as to rouse up fanatical indignation and determined opposition.

Only a personality such as Smith's, only one who was a true master of himself and the great business entrusted to him, could have handled these recurrent crises in such a manner as not to upset the balance. A weak and impulsive man might have ruined the whole of the colony's existence in one of these foraging expeditions ; a blustering bully would have so terrorized Jamestown's neighbours that they would either flee from the neighbourhood and their cornfields or they might consider some sort of mutual alliance against the White Men. In either case it would have been for the colony a most serious matter. But it was because her present President knew by personal contact exactly how much aggression

the Indian would tolerate, knew when to be fierce and when to be friendly, that those ill-deserving countrymen from England were kept alive. Famine is a terrible phantom, and it was always there to worry him in his waking and sleeping hours. Jamestown was like a city besieged by the enemy starvation, whose army occasionally withdrew a short distance but never fully departed. The mismanaged supplies from England were of so little practical value that these planters existed only by the will of that encircling army. If the time should come when the Indians realized their power ; if they should mass against this imposed pressure from the pale-faces ; if the presents of beads and toys and bits of copper should begin to lose attraction—then the Englishmen were finished and could only perish as those earlier settlers had in Old Virginia. Smith knew, as the London directors so conspicuously failed to appreciate, that the subtle, treacherous, savage Redskin respected only fear and superior strength : to treat him as an equal, to trust him as an honest being was merely to court trouble.

Kindness is a gesture to be used only towards those who are capable of understanding goodwill : it is utterly misplaced when extended to primitives not yet removed from barbarism, who regard it merely as confessed weakness. Smith, finding that those people in the Nandsamund region not only went back on their promise to provide corn but even declined to trade at all, forthwith showed that he would not be trifled with ; and the display of force was to be the language of persuasion. He therefore ordered the English soldiers of a food-finding party visiting that region to discharge their muskets ; whereupon the natives fled without firing an arrow. He next had the first house of the village set on fire, but when the Nandsamunds saw this they implored him to desist, saying they would provide half of what

they possessed of corn. This was all that the President required of them, and somehow the corn was instantly brought forward and the three English boats filled.

In like manner he was able to obtain some supplies from other parts, and it was by means of one expedition up the James River that on turning to port along the Apamatuck tributary he discovered the people of that name. But the unfortunate position for Smith was that his was largely a one-man enterprise and no one else could be trusted to carry out a job with definite efficiency. Thus, whatever the difficulties and opposition, Smith would never fail and return to Jamestown empty ; but, even when he sent such men as Scrivener and Percy, they would come back with nothing to show but failure. And unfortunately the former, whom once it had been possible to regard as a friend, now could not be considered as free from that wretched underhand plotting.

The difficulty was that Powhatan's great power was being used to make the petty chiefs in various districts reluctant to trade their corn, and Smith determined that there could be nothing for it but to surprise the big chief and commandeer his food stores. To this end the President worked out a plan with Captain Waldo ; but Winne and Scrivener did their best to hinder the project, and eventually even Waldo failed. Scrivener had received from England letters inciting him to make himself supreme in the colony, and had been fool enough to be influenced by this suggestion ; but how he was to be punished for this deceit we shall presently see. In the meanwhile no persuasion could turn Smith aside from a very necessary duty, whilst Scrivener was quietly preparing to carry out the meanest of schemes.

Powhatan sent word that if the President would lend men to build the chief a house, give him a present of a grindstone, a cock and hen as well as other presents, then Smith should have a cargo of corn. The latter

quite realized that there was something of a snare in this request, yet felt he could not afford to refuse, so despatched about a dozen English and Dutch twelve miles overland to Werowocomoco in order to build Powhatan's house, whilst the President with his party would proceed by water. The food problem had become acute once more, but enough victuals for three or four days were put in the "Discovery's" barge, one other barge, and the pinnace. Waldo, Winne and Scrivener were left behind and only volunteers to the number of about forty were chosen. And even some of those selected managed to find excuses to remain at the plantation.

It was four days after Christmas when this further little voyage started off. So often had their leader sailed in and about the Chesapeake Bay, with nothing to eat and drink save a little meal and water or some fish, and here he was again with scarcely a mariner "that had skill to trim their sayles, use their oares, or any businesse belonging to the barge" of which he himself took command. In the pinnace William Phettiplace was Captain and James Profit was Master : the rest consisted mostly of gentlemen or soldiers ignorant of such seamanlike work ; and yet, as before, Captain Smith by much patience and effort was soon to teach them. Dropping down the James River the two craft anchored the first night at Warraskoyack on the southern bank, where he obtained some provisions from the local chief who tried to dissuade him from proceeding on his trip, warning him that on no account should Powhatan be trusted. Smith took this opportunity of the friendly chief to obtain from him two guides who knew the Chawonock country, whither you will remember Sir Ralph Lane had penetrated in the expedition of 1585-6. In accordance with the Virginia Company's wishes, and in the very doubtful hope that some of the lost company

brought out by John White in 1587 might still survive, and with the further object of finding some "silke grasse," Smith now despatched Michael Sicklemore (not to be confused, of course, with that other Sicklemore who had been returned to England), a very valiant and reliable soldier. It will clear the story if we say at once that when eventually Sicklemore came back from this quest in Old Virginia he reported that he "found little hope and lesse certaintie of them [that] were left by Sir Walter Raleigh." The Chawonock¹ river that he saw "was not great," the country mostly overgrown with pines, but here and there flourished some "silke grasse." It is not without interest, by the way, to mention that in the map which Smith gives of "Ould Virginia" he marks this territory between the James River and the Chawonock as "Alice Smith," which was the name of his mother and his sister.

It was characteristic of him to make the best of a good chance ; and, since by his manner he had won the Warraskoyack chief's goodwill, the President left here his page, Samuel Collier, in order to learn the native language. On the next day the two craft continued down the river and brought up off their favourite anchorage, Kecoughtan, where they were held up for a week by gales of wind, rain, frost and snow ; but they managed to celebrate one aspect of Christmas with plenty of oysters, fish, flesh, wild fowl and good bread ashore. They were so pleased that they considered they had "never had better fires in England, then in the dry smoaky houses of Kecoughtan."

From there they sailed round northward and so into the Pamunk, or York River, up which they proceeded

¹ Nowadays called the Chowan, which flows into Albemarle Sound. Evidently Sicklemore did not follow this down to its mouth, or he would certainly have called it "great." But he was doubtless concerned only with the upper reaches.

till they reached Kiskiack on the southern bank, where they remained several days owing to the head-winds and frost. The natives were found to be truculent, but Smith suppressed them, lodged in their houses, obtained the necessary provisions, and on the 12th of January reached Werowocomoco. Here the river was frozen near the shore, so he had the ice broken and brought his barge right in till the ebb left her resting on slimy mud, " yet rather then to lye there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase." When the barge floated, he sent two or three men back to bring her alongside the pinnace, whose company had run out of drinking-water so had to content themselves with melting ice. This winter trip from Jamestown through bleak and cruel weather tried them all, and one of them now overcome with cold and toil nearly succumbed.

On the next day Smith had his interview with the Great Powhatan, who at first pretended he had never sent for the White Men and adopted an irritating attitude. The artful savage, realizing the corn's value, had now begun to raise the price ; copper was of little use to him, so he demanded guns and swords instead. Smith met this behaviour by a brief, forceful and business-like speech. " Powhatan, . . . beleeving your promises to supply my wants . . . and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building. . . . What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade : and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want. . . . As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to spare . . . yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolute that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine me by our bad vsage."

Powhatan consented that within a couple of days he

would spare what corn he could, but endeavoured to cause Smith to leave aboard all arms. They are needless here ! Are we not all friends ? In the meantime Smith was not mistaken, or likely to put his head into a most obvious trap. The building of Powhatan's house went on, but these Dutch workmen, being mere imported foreign hirelings, began to look out for themselves. Impressed with the want at Jamestown and the abundance at Werowocomoco, and perceiving that Powhatan was making preparations to surprise the English, the hirelings preferred to place themselves on the side which was likely to win and quietly revealed to Powhatan Smith's intentions. Most unfortunately Smith had selected one of these Dutchmen for his own spy to find out what Powhatan was planning ; nor was it until some months afterwards that the President learned his mistake.

In the preliminary encounter between Powhatan and Smith each was concealing his own mind under an outward show of courtesy. Thus, when the former fancied a certain copper kettle it was traded for a small portion of corn with which to carry on till the rest of the supply should arrive. Powhatan even made the effort to speak on the blessings of peace as superior to war, adding a promise that every year he would always be willing to trade with the settlers for corn provided the visitors came not with guns and swords as if to invade. But Smith, in effect, replied that was all very well. " As for your promise I find it every day violated by some of your subjects," seeing that the subordinate chiefs were doing their best to refuse commercial intercourse, but " we shall not so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse " ; for the White Men had a means of finding what they wanted not included in Powhatan's knowledge.

Presently the buying and selling began, but the Great

Chief was annoyed still to observe Smith's guard had not been dismissed nor disarmed, so he tried to use persuasion. "Captain Newport," argued the Indian, "gave me swords or whatever I wanted ; and he used to send away his guns when I entreated him. If you intend to be friendly, you also must send away your weapons that I may believe you." Smith, with his vast knowledge of tricky enemies, European, Turkish and Indian, was not fooled by this device : rather he perceived that Powhatan was merely creating an opportunity for massacre. Therefore, after obtaining some natives to break the ice so that the barge could fetch himself as well as the corn, he gave orders for more men to come ashore. This was with a view of protection, and even surprising the Chief at the right time ; but to assuage suspicion and to create necessary delay, Smith also made a bluffing speech. "To-morrow—yes. I will leave my arms and trust entirely to your promise of goodwill."

But Powhatan, having presently ascertained that the Indians were ready to cut the Englishman's throat, took the opportunity, whilst the ice was being broken, to hurry away into the country with his wives and children. Those allotted the task of slaying the President now surrounded the house and would have fallen upon Smith and quickly sent him to his doom ; but the warrior who had destroyed chosen Turks in single duel, and had survived many a peril in battle by land and sea, grasped the position of affairs just as it seemed too late. He was besieged now, with only that young gallant, John Russell, by his side ; and as it was two men against a crowd—for the danger had developed rapidly—there was no time for anything but immediate and violent action. So, in the best Smith manner, with his pistol and sword he blazed and hacked his way through those naked savages with the result that the first line of enemy went tumbling over each other, and the rest took refuge in flight. Thus,

totally unhurt, Smith extricated himself and his companion, and reached his body of eighteen men who had now come ashore from the craft in the river. The Indian's *coup de main* had failed utterly, and its ill success had finally revealed Powhatan as no friend but a treacherous person whose word was to be mistrusted.

Powhatan was never again seen by Smith to the end of his days, but the former sought to cover up his flight and his people's assault by all sorts of excuses, and even sent the President a bracelet and chain of pearls as presents. Smith, however, had come not to be embroiled in trouble but to preserve Jamestown from winter's starvation, so he concentrated straight away on the corn. This was carried down to the boats by the English, and by the Indians who needed no further orders on seeing the muskets ready to speak with far mightier eloquence than any strange words. By this time the tide had ebbed, and high water would not be until midnight ; so, leaving the craft on the mud, Smith and his companions spent the time ashore, during which the Indians returned to Powhatan.

In the darkness of that night came that faithful girl, Pocahontas, bravely through the woods and informed Captain Smith that her father, Powhatan, was still planning to kill the English expedition, and therefore advised them to be gone. Smith, touched by this fidelity and unselfish risk, desired to offer her gifts ; but with tears running down her cheeks she replied that she dared not be seen with any, for Powhatan would put her to death. Within an hour of her departure came a handful of Indians carrying great platters of venison and other victuals. Smith, of course, suspected poison, made the messengers taste every dish and then sent these "lusty fellowes" back to Powhatan : this further scheme had failed. And yet it was part of Smith's cleverness that, on setting out at midnight, he left, as

the Great Chief had requested, Edward Brinton (one of the soldiers) to teach Powhatan how to kill fowl, and the Dutchmen for the purpose of completing the house. For this was only to be for a time, since Smith was proceeding up river, and the men could if necessary be taken off on the down trip. It was evidently part of Smith's belief that to break with Powhatan utterly would mean that no more corn would be forthcoming ; whereas this frustration of the Great Chief's treachery would cause the Red Men to think more highly of the power and ability of the White-faces. Smith even instructed Brinton and fellow-workers to give Powhatan " all the content they could, that we might injoy his company at our return from Pamaunke." The procedure seems to us a little lacking in logic, yet Smith knew the native character and above all was anxious only to get that precious corn with the least possible friction and the fewest casualties. But the energetic and usually far-sighted leader had failed to realize that Powhatan and the Dutchmen were already plotting together.

No sooner had the expedition got under way, proceeding up the Pamunk River, than Powhatan came back to Werowocomoco and sent off to Jamestown two Dutchmen known respectively as Adam and Francis. These travelling overland pretended to Captain Winne that all was well with Smith's expedition but the latter had required their arms : therefore they had come for some more, together with additional tools and clothes. All these were obtained, as the story seemed plausible. They managed also to obtain from others in the colony such articles as swords, shot, powder and muskets. Brinton (the fowling expert) and another Englishman at Werowocomoco realizing that the Dutch were arming the savages, tried to rush off to Jamestown with the news, but were caught.

Smith and his party knew none of this ; but, having

ascended the Pamunk River about twenty-five miles to the position where now stands West Point, he with fourteen others went up to the house of that chief, Opechancanough, whose prisoner Smith had become on that memorable day when the quagmire showed itself so tenacious. Opechancanough (doubtless owing to the influence of his brother Powhatan) now showed himself more inclined to fight than to trade, but by means of a carefully worded speech the anxious President managed to win once more his friendship : at least so it appeared. "Last year you kindly freighted my ship," Smith reminded him, "but now you have invited me to starve with hunger. You know my want, and I your plenty, of which by some means I must have part. Remember it is for kings to keep their promise. Here are my commodities, of which take your choice."

The chief sold them some corn forthwith, and promised more for the morrow ; but a new situation was just about ripe. Leaving the barge and pinnace next day under the care of Phettiplace, the same party as before marched up to the chief's house, who "with a strained cheerfulness" began to explain how difficult it had been to keep his promise. At this moment came running in that gallant John Russell with the news that they were trapped : the place was surrounded by seven hundred well-armed Indians.

This sensational intelligence dismayed some of the party, but with cool courage their President steadied them by his speech which blended the need for bravery with the desirability of wisdom. "If wee should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house, the rest will all fly : then," he emphasized, "shall wee get no more than the bodies that are slaine, and so starue for victuall." At the same time, he exhorted, "let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe : for by that meanes you know that God hath oft deliuered mee, and so I trust

will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe wee may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions."

All agreed to do whatsoever their Captain attempted, or die, and then Smith addressed Opechancanough very sternly. "I see your plot to murder me, but I fear it not. Take therefore your arms, you see mine : my body shall be as naked as yours. That island in your river is a good place for a contest : let 's fight it out, and whoever wins shall be lord and master over all our men. We are but a handful against yours, but if you need more take time and fetch them, and let every one bring a basket of corn and I will stake the value thereof in copper. Come on, let us fight it out, and the victor take everything." This suggestion was met as usual with an attempt to ease his suspicion, but there was a further effort to entice him out of doors to accept a present, in order that he should fall into an ambush of armed men. Smith was suspicious, commanded one of his own soldiers to go and see what the trap was and accept the present ; but the soldier was too afraid. All the rest of the party, being angered against a coward, begged leave to carry out the order ; but Smith first had the house and door secured and then, mad with rage, seizing the chief by his long coil of hair, pushed the muzzle of a good English pistol against the chief's bare breast.

This sharp, swift determination surprised the Indian who trembled for fear, with the result that he yielded up his bow and arrows ; his men were so astounded that any one dared so use their ruler that they, too, threw down their arms. Appreciating the importance of striking hard whilst the opportunity lasted, Smith tried to knock into their minds a severe lesson : and, still holding their chief by the hair, he spoke his mind to these treacherous Redskins plainly. "My having suffered so long your injuries has emboldened you. I have suffered your

insults because I promised before God to be your friend till you should give me just cause to become your enemy. If I keep this vow, God will keep me and you cannot hurt me : if I break it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot one arrow to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steal the least of these beads or copper, you shall see I shall not cease revenge."

Briefly this was his scathing denunciation, and then he reminded them that he was no longer " at Rassawweak halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner. . . . But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed, and so you shall ; or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses : yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give me the first occasion ; and your king shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you." This straightforward speech, coupled with Smith's bold energy not merely saved the lives of his companions, but the native men, women and children brought along their commodities to trade and for the next few hours so thronged about him and wearied him that at last he retired to rest. It was then that these foolish creatures, living like the mere opportunists they were, with no more thought for the future than any animal, imagined they could profit by the present. Perceiving him asleep and the guard not close up, some fifty armed Indians followed by a crowd four times that number began to enter the house where he lay ; but the noise and vibration caused him to wake in time to escape death yet again. " Halfe amazed with this suddaine sight," he rushed for his sword, and with the assistance of his own guard drove the enemy away. The net result of this visit to Opechancanough, then, was that in spite of Powhatan's influence and every obstacle, corn in large quantities had been obtained for

Jamestown. But nothing save the zest and resolute perseverance, the tenacity of purpose and singleness of aim which Smith exercised so handsomely, could ever have overcome so many soul-depressing disappointments.

Nor were they by any means ended.



CHAPTER XVI

DANGERS AND ADVERSITIES



If all these hazards and anxieties were not quite enough for Smith's endurance, Scrivener, who once was the President's trusted friend, had with singular baseness and with a treachery that deserved the heaviest condemnation actually employed the time during his friend's absence in working for Powhatan's interest. Scrivener's plan was to thwart any strategy against the Great Chief and forestall Smith's efforts.

Therefore, some time after Smith's departure from Jamestown, Scrivener with Captain Waldo, Anthony Gosnold (another excellent man corrupted by this dissatisfaction and disloyalty) as well as eight others set off by water. But the bitter winter gale caused the heavily-laden craft to sink, where and exactly how was never known, but all this party were drowned and the first to find the bodies were the Indians. When the news of this disaster reached Jamestown and it became essential that the President should be informed, every one refused to undertake the journey until Richard Wiffing finally travelled alone. On reaching Werowocomoco, and finding the President not there but observing Powhatan's preparations for hostilities, he realized that trouble was brewing. Wiffing had come out from England with the "First Supply" in 1608, and was one of those who could be called distinctly friendly to Smith.

Wiffing was in danger of his life at Werowocomoco, but the ever faithful Pocahontas hid him for a time, sent his pursuers off in the wrong direction, and by her immense trouble brought it about that he was able after three days to reach Smith on the day the latter had been compelled to seize Opechancanough. The news which Wiffing brought was indeed serious, and it could have only a bad effect if generally made known just then. Smith received it with sorrow, but made Wiffing swear not to inform the others of the tragedy. Scrivener and those other fools had paid the price of deceit with their lives, and no good object could be achieved by relating this incident just yet.

It was now about the 22nd of January. Smith, in accordance with his promise, released Opechancanough and went aboard his barge. But Powhatan had made very determined arrangements to have Smith killed, and promised the Indian subjects that, unless by some means they succeeded in effecting this, they themselves should be put to death. This they were not willing to perform, well knowing the Englishman's prowess ; but they had to obey superior orders. The trap was laid the next morning by a concentrated effort ; for no sooner was the sun risen than the fields were seen covered with people and corn baskets so as to tempt Smith and companions on land. The President was in a quandary : he needed the corn for his colony, and yet they would yield not a bushel unless he himself came ashore. He, on the other hand, appreciated that here was a trap baited to betray him.

What to do, then ? He remained until some of the Indians got tired of waiting and they departed. He then went ashore with Percy, West and Russell all armed, as well as some others unarmed who were to receive the corn. The treacherous Opechancanough sent two or three hundred men massed in the shape of two half-

moons with a score of other men and many women carrying baskets. No sooner had the latter approached than they fled, thus leaving Smith's shore party surrounded : it seemed a dead certainty that Opechancanough could now carry out Powhatan's order with ease. But the resourceful Smith had provided against this move by creating an ambush, who now suddenly revealed themselves, thus causing the enemy to flee for their lives whilst Smith and companions went back to their craft.

That night Smith sent one of the barges with two of the gentlemen to Jamestown. On the way between Werowocomoco and the colony—evidently after they had come ashore farther down and whilst proceeding overland—they encountered five of those disgruntled Dutchmen on their journey to join Powhatan ; but these foreigners, to save their faces, now returned to Jamestown also. The shrewd savages, however, hearing that barge starting off down the Pamunk River, became frightened. The White Men were surely sending for reinforcements ! Presently they would arrive and destroy everything as Smith had threatened ! This caused such excitement that Opechancanough sent the President a chain of pearls with the hope of altering his purpose and even consented to supply the required corn. Thus it was that less than a week later the whole country for ten or twelve miles around sent in a large supply on the naked backs of the Indians tramping through frost and snow down to Smith's craft waiting in the river.

It was really extremely difficult for any one less experienced than Smith to comprehend the ways of these savages with all their changeability, their varying kindness and artful enmity. How could the directors in London, or the most recently arrived planters, possibly penetrate into the workings of such minds ? Therefore it was because of his wonderful patience, self-control

and extraordinary study of these primitive people that Smith was able by using force at the right moment, and his brains always, to get what he wanted in the end. "Men may thinke it strange," remarked Richard Wiffing, William Phettiplace, Jeffrey Abbot and Anas Todkill in their account which Simmonds edited, "there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might haue got it ; and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starued. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all those iniurie, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge ; then by their losse, we should haue lost our selues."

Amidst all this intercourse with natives who one day were warm friends and the next bitter enemies, it was inevitable that risks should be run lest offence might be taken and future trade prohibited. Thus the affair of this visit was not concluded before Smith and some of the other Englishmen became poisoned. Fortunately this made them vomit and so their lives were saved. The President rewarded the poison culprit by giving him a good thrashing, after which the villagers were only too glad to load the barge and be rid of the White Men, who now dropped away down to Werowocomoco. Smith had, in temporizing with Opechancanough and then parting quite friendly, the intention of giving that dangerous fellow, Powhatan, a severe lesson by falling upon him and his supplies. Powhatan must not become suspicious and take to flight.

Having now arrived before Werowocomoco, Smith sent Wiffing and another ashore to reconnoitre. "But" (quoting the above account by Wiffing and the other three mentioned), "they found that those damned Dutch-men had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house and Werowocomoco, and to carry away all his corne and provision : and the people they found so ill

affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their lives. So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master Michael Phittiplace by Land to Iames towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could ; wee having in this Iourney (for 25 l[bs]. of Copper, and 50 l[bs]. of Iron and Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes, and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the store). We got neare 200 l[b]. waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne."

This expedition, carried out as it had been in spite of every danger and discouragement, was back at Jamestown about February 8, 1609. Here Smith found immediate need for his active and organizing enterprise. Scrivener, who had been left in charge of the colony, was of course dead. Those provisions which had been left in the store had rotted owing to last summer's rain, and the rats had devoured part. The pigs refused to touch this decayed, worm-eaten stuff, yet it had to suffice for the soldiers' food until Smith now arrived with the hard-gotten bushels of corn. What, in short, the President, tired and travel-stained, found after cruising up icy rivers was that no progress at Jamestown had been made ; but that the victuals were spent, neglect had suffered everything to fall into decay. Most of the valuable tools and arms, brought out from England and impossible to replace, had been wickedly conveyed to the Indians.

Smith got busy forthwith : there was never for him any respite. Thanks to his patient toils there was now enough food stored which should last through the winter until the next harvest, and thus that dreadful bogy, starvation, was banished for a while. He then

divided the colony into companies of tens or fifteen as the duties required, and instituted a six-hour work day, the rest of the time to be spent in recreation. But even this caused among the idle, good-for-nothing wasters considerable "untowardness." He was fighting, little more than single-handed, a campaign for order and industry against slackness and culpable inefficiency, and it was a desperate job. Further, just as recently physical pluck had been so frequently demanded of him, so now it required moral courage to stand up and tell them to their faces the bare, unpleasant truth—whether they liked it or not, whether they mutinied or plotted for his deposition from this thankless but essential office. Briefly, this is how he addressed them :

"Countrymen," he began, "the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloath." You "must be more industrious, or starue, how euer you haue beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I haue often commanded you . . . he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled)." In his vigorous, trenchant manner he informed them that the labours of forty honest and industrious men should not be consumed by a hundred and fifty idlers. "And though you presume the authoritie here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my owne must answer it : the Letters patents shall each weeke be read to you, whose Contents will tell you the contrary. . . . Therefore he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment."

This outspoken pronouncement could not fail to have effect on those unfortunate colonists who had come out expecting gold and found only the necessity of irksome toil. Smith, as a further example of his thoroughness,

also had a notice-board set up, on which was a public record of each man's deserts. This served to encourage the well-behaved and to shame the slackers towards amendment. The result of all this reorganization was that many men did actually become industrious, yet in most cases it was rather from fear of punishment, and the President allowed no excuses to deceive either him or them. In this manner the young colony took on a new lease of existence ; but those untrustworthy Dutchmen were still a source of trouble to him, nor were Smith's relations with the neighbouring Indians as yet free from anxiety.

For some time it was difficult to find how it was that the fort was being pilfered of so much powder and shot, so many swords and tools. There now were still being loaned to Powhatan, for diplomatic reasons, the men from the Low Countries. One of them—that same Francis already mentioned—was sent, disguised as an Indian, to a rendezvous in the woods about a mile from Jamestown. Forty men were obtained who were to lie in ambush and kill Captain Smith, but the latter got to know of the trap and sent out to have the plotter caught. It was too late, for Francis had fled. The President, however, despatched a party of twenty men to stop him before he should get back to Powhatan's village. In the meantime Smith returned homewards alone.

It was whilst thus proceeding that he encountered the Chief of Paspahegh, whose territory, it may be remembered, was farther west up the River James, above the settlement. The Indian tried unsuccessfully to lure Smith into the ambush, and then, seeing that the President was armed only with a broad, curved sword, tried to shoot him. Smith prevented this by immediately grappling with him, and then a fierce evenly-matched struggle took place which is reminiscent of his earlier days in Eastern Europe. The Chief was big and strong

and determined, and the duel's result hung uncertainly for some time. The former was able to prevent Smith from drawing his sword and even succeeded in dragging the White Man into the river. Here the latter was nearly drowned, but the two continued to struggle until Smith managed to get such a hold on the Chief's throat that the Indian was nearly dead. Finally, now able to draw his sword, Smith was about to cut off the savage's head just as he had done in the case of the three Turks years ago ; but he yielded to his adversary's entreaties, led him back alive to Jamestown and there put him in chains.

Shortly afterwards was brought in Francis the Dutchman, who was found to have stolen all the missing articles. Francis was an imaginative liar. He tried to make believe that, in order to save his own life and the lives of his fellow countrymen, Powhatan compelled him to obtain arms ; that Francis had therefore run away from Powhatan and at the moment when caught this Dutchman was only strolling about the woods to gather walnuts. Smith's reply to this was to place the man promptly in irons. The rest of the Dutchmen declined to return, and one day the Paspahegh Chief, owing to the slackness of the guard, escaped, chained though he was.

But, in accordance with the London Company's orders, John Smith never forgot that he had been sent to Virginia to build and not to destroy, that therefore friendship with the natives when practicable was to be chosen rather than war. An understanding was thus reached with the inhabitants of Paspahegh, which continued as long as Smith remained in the colony. During that same spring of 1609 Powhatan came to perceive that the White Men could best be endured in goodwill than in hatred ; so, with exemplary conduct, he sent back to Jamestown not merely many stolen articles but even the thieves themselves. With this improved condition of affairs Smith could certainly feel that what-

ever might be the criticism and lack of appreciation in London, whatever the mistakes and regrettable neglect on the part of his fellow planters, Jamestown could stand comparison with similar efforts made by the Spaniards, whose methods and procedure were still very much in the Englishmen's minds.

If there had been an occasional Indian death in Virginia, this was nothing compared with the wholesale massacres which had disgraced the Spanish West Indies. Perhaps it was because in Virginia there had been no spectacular discovery of gold and silver mines that Smith and his associates were held in scorn. But, whilst it was natural enough to think of Virginia and the West Indies in the same category, yet it was not a fair means of arguing. The Spaniards had the good fortune to discover a region whose ground had been well prepared by many inhabitants already, so it was ripe for the Europeans to come and gather its produce. Virginia, on the other hand, was ill peopled, little planted and but primitively prepared, lacking also in precious metals. In the words of those early settlers in Jamestown, "we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold and silver, or any commodities, and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except ba[u]bles of no worth ; nothing to incourage vs ; but what accidentally we found Nature afforded."

And, before any remuneration could be earned to pay the pioneering costs, Smith and his fellows had to explore territory, rivers, bays and so on, bring the natives into a civil and tractable condition, teach them trades that the fruits of their labours might make the colony financially self-supporting. It was an uphill work and few men could have gone on month after month with utter discouragement as did Smith in those trying days : only his immovable belief in his country, himself, as well as

the future possibilities of Virginia to the benefit of England's king and the glory of God, prevented him from losing his enthusiasm.

Ever since he got back from that last boat expedition up the Pamunk River, he had been hard at work making his improvements ; so that by April 1609 they had manufactured quantities of tar and pitch, experimented with glass-making, prepared boards and timber all in readiness for export to England. He had caused a well of " excellent sweet water " to be made in the fort for the first time, built twenty houses, put a new roof on the church, provided nets and weirs for fishing, and built a blockhouse at the neck of the peninsula which joined Jamestown to the land. This was to prevent both Indians and such dishonest persons as the Dutch from coming in and out as they liked ; for by Smith's definite orders the garrison were to allow neither Christian nor savage to pass or repass without Presidential permission. Another fort had also been constructed by the river, but on a high commanding hill where it could easily be defended and it would be difficult to assault. Smith foresaw that some day possibly superior hostile strength might drive them out of Jamestown, and this retreat would be required.

In addition to all these activities within less than three months, his people had dug and planted about forty acres. The three sows brought from England had provided twenty times that number of pigs ; five hundred chickens had brought themselves up, so that gradually things were beginning to look in better shape, though very much still was required to be done. On Hogs' Island down the river a block-house had been erected with a garrison so as to give warning of any approach of shipping. But the alarming increase of rats by thousands at Jamestown became a problem of prime importance, since so much invaluable corn was thus lost ; and this

lack of grain was now to reach such an acute stage that instead of all hands being profitably engaged on constructive schemes they had to confine their energies towards obtaining provisions.

As a proof of the newly-established friendship, the neighbouring Indians for sixteen days brought to the Jamestonians turkeys, deer, squirrels and other meat ; but that could not last for ever and Smith had to invent other methods for obtaining food. One officer was sent down the river to live on oysters ; a party of twenty under Percy were sent to try the fishing at Point Comfort, but he had burnt himself in a gunpowder accident, was in bad health and his men quarrelled. The result was that after six weeks they returned without ever having cast their nets. Another officer Smith sent up river to the Falls, but this company found nothing to eat except acorns.

Fortunately the James River yielded the colony even more sturgeon than could be eaten, and by the ingenuity of some it was dried, mixed with herbs and made into a kind of bread. But the trouble in the colony was with its 150 work-shy men who much resented having to gather and prepare their food, and preferred rather to exchange such things as kettles, hoes and even swords or firearms for Indian corn. Smith put his foot down on this uneconomical trafficking, and in consequence caused such violent opposition that they would have driven him out of the country ; but he found that the ringleader was a very crafty fellow named William Dyer, who a year ago had accompanied Smith to Werowocomoco. For a long time Dyer had been a thorn in the President's flesh, but he was now promptly punished, and then Captain Smith had another straight-to-the-mark talk with the rest, as one soldier to another. Lack of food was causing a mutinous spirit such as has broken out innumerable times, and from the same cause, in those

bad, old days of the sailing ships. The President could not shut his ears to the fact that some of the community were even planning to run away aboard the pinnace to Newfoundland ; but for once and all he must eradicate the futile idea that Powhatan had plenty of corn which Smith had only to fetch for a lot of worthless drones to consume.

" Fellow souldiers," he banged into them, " I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that Powhatan at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you ; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had." Whilst willing to do his best even for his worst maligner, yet " if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him assuredly looke to ar[r]iue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue saued yours, when (might your owne wills haue preuailed) you would haue starued ; and will doe still whether I will or noe." Finally he told them, pointedly, that " you shall not onely gather for your selues, but those that are sicke . . . and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the riuer, and be banished from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or starue."

The upshot of this was that which usually happens under similar circumstances of incipient mutiny halted by the determination of a fearless leader. The crowd murmured that this order was very cruel, but after they had finished complaining most of them bestirred themselves and got on with the job. Once again had Smith saved Virginia from perishing in its infancy.

Captain Winne, Master Leigh and five others were the only colonists who had died out of the two hundred since the previous November (excepting of course those drowned in Scrivener's ill-planned plot), and it was now

the month of April with the winter past, the spring at hand. Therefore it was no small triumph of management and organization that in spite of climate and everything else the President had pulled his awkward people through with a death rate of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. And now, instead of that communal and centralized life, this want of food supplies caused him to split the people up into small groups so that they could fend for themselves and gather from the river, or the trees, food as best they might. Many of them were billeted among the Indians, from whom they learnt useful knowledge about the local products ; and, incidentally, by this association the good understanding between natives and planters became considerably strengthened. By a curious mental process the way also was being paved towards Christianity ; for the Indian " would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry."

The drawback to this dispersion and decentralization was obvious : it meant an absence of that unity which is strength, and it weakened Smith's supervising control. Such discreditable people as William Volday were well alive to this. It was being hoped by the Dutch and certain ill-disposed English that the Spaniards would one day come sailing up the James River and make a clean sweep ; but in the meantime the worst section of settlers were hoping to persuade Powhatan to lend his forces to destroy the hogs, burn Jamestown and enable the malcontents to get away in the pinnace, after which the remainder of the settlement could easily be subjected by the Red Men. Fortunately this plot was revealed to the President, who took the necessary steps ; and Powhatan, like the rest of the country, held Smith in so much respect and awe that there was no intention on the part of the native to co-operate with the Dutch and disgruntled.

It was a matter for satisfaction that, notwithstanding all the adversities and disappointments, he could feel that a good solid foundation had been laid for Virginia's future welfare. With the limited means at his disposal he had tried to extract order out of chaos, stability out of discontent, but it was impossible to please those who were idlers or mere deceitful drones. He had done his best, and Smith's efforts were before long to show themselves in the light of subsequent events as productive of that which others could not effect.



CHAPTER XVII

THE END OF ENDEAVOUR



HUS had life gone on in Jamestown. Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill had supplemented the investigation of Michael Sicklemore (who had visited the Chawonock country) by penetrating south into the Mangoacks' region, which lay inland west of Roanoke Island, and had endeavoured to ascertain if any of the Raleigh settlers could possibly be found.

"But nothing," reported these two men, "could we learne but they were all dead." That finally decided a matter which had caused some suspense in England, though it could give no great pleasure to Smith except as a confirmation of his own opinion.

But in London during this spring of 1609 considerable activity was being exercised in regard to the Virginia colony and its future; so that by the early summer Jamestown was to have a series of surprises. A certain Master Cornelius had obtained permission from the London Council to send out from home a vessel under the command of Captain S. Argal, with leave to trade and also to fish for sturgeon. She sailed across the Atlantic not as the other ships had done via the Canaries but by "the ready way": that is, instead of going so far east as those islands, she made for the Azores and thence after going a little further south struck westward, just as Captain Bartholomew Gosnold had in 1602, and

Captain Martin Pring in 1603, and Captain George Waymouth in 1605.

Argal's vessel arrived in the James River on July 10, 1609, and found a condition somewhat different from that which Captain Newport and others had reported to London. Had the latter told the real truth of poverty, no doubt the Council would have sent out adequate supplies of victuals ; but it surprised Argal to note that the colony was in such distress that many were dispersed in the Indian villages and living on what could be exchanged for an ounce of copper a day. Fourscore were existing twenty miles from Jamestown with nothing whatsoever to eat for eight weeks except oysters. Now Argal's vessel was well freighted with provisions and wine which had been sent as a present from the London directors, but necessity compelled Smith to commandeer such welcome stores at a price, and the colony regarded such an arrival as an act of God.

It was, however, the news brought by Captain Argal which caused Smith furiously to think over matters ; for the authorities at home had begun a new policy. A squadron of nine supply ships was coming out, with Lord De la Warr as Governor and a considerable number of emigrants. Letters were also brought out much criticizing Smith for his alleged cruel treatment of the Indians, and for not having sent back in the ships to England adequate cargoes. Coming on the top of his other anxieties this was a bitter grief for the President. And yet he had dealt harshly, and firmly, with the natives because there was no other way. His time had been spent perhaps more in exploring than in developing ; but now he decided to detain Argal's ship until the Company's squadron should arrive.

It was on May 15, 1609, that seven vessels sailed from the River Thames at Woolwich, proceeded down Channel and reached Plymouth on May 20, where there were

waiting two more ships under Sir George Somers, the senior officer of the whole squadron. For the original London Virginia Company, not satisfied with the return on their investment, returned their commission to the King and reconstituted themselves with the receipt of a fresh one. Under this new scheme Lord De la Warr was to be Governor of Virginia ; Sir Thomas Gates, Lieutenant-Governor ; Sir George Somers, Admiral ; Sir Thomas Dale, High Marshal ; Sir Fardinando Wainman, General of the Horse ; and Captain Newport, Vice-Admiral. This new corporation was at once able to obtain such large sums of money that Gates, Somers and Newport, together with five hundred colonists, were sent forward in these nine ships. No regard was paid to Smith and his brother officers who had borne the toil and dangers of early pioneering : Gates, Somers and Newport were to call in and supersede the existing authority.

Whilst it is very true that human nature, broadly speaking, is little changing in its transition from one century to another, yet to any student of past history it seems as if our ancestors were singularly prone to suspicion and mutual jealousy. Before setting out, Gates, Somers and Newport being unable to agree "for place," it was decided that all three should travel in the "Sea-Venture" which was the flagship. In addition to these high officers, she carried the bills of lading, certain important documentary instructions, most of the provisions, as well as a hundred and fifty men. In view of what happened to her these facts deserve bearing in mind.

It was characteristic of the new Company's disregard for Smith that they ignored his feelings by sending out in the seven ships Ratcliffe, Martin and Archer, who had at one time been in Virginia. These tiresome fellows had given trouble at Jamestown, and unable to

change their characters they were a source of annoyance on this other voyage as afterwards they were to be ashore. Nothing could more effectually indicate the new directors' ignorance of Virginia's requirements, as to personnel or the mistrust of Smith, than the deliberate selection of three men who had once been sent home for the colony's good. Archer travelled from Woolwich in a vessel named "Blessing," and he has left for us an account of the voyage out.

After the latter had taken aboard half a dozen mares and two horses and the squadron had embarked all requisite stores, they left Plymouth Sound on June 2, but in the Channel met with south-west winds which compelled them to enter Falmouth, where they remained until June 8. Their sailing instructions were to leave the Canaries a hundred leagues to the eastward and "to steere away directly for Virginia, without touching at the West Indies" unless the squadron got separated, in which case they were to assemble at Bermudas, which the Spaniards had discovered only as recently as the year 1515 but were not colonized until three years after this year, 1609, of which we are now speaking. If, after waiting there seven days the flagship did not arrive, then the squadron was to carry on to Virginia.

Now the squadron consisted of the following ships: "Sea-Venture" (flagship), "Diamond" (flagship of Vice-Admiral), "Falcon" (flagship of Rear-Admiral), "Blessing," "Unity," "Lion," "Swallow," a ketch and a pinnace which after six days out from the Cornish port bore up for England. The course out was as follows. They sailed down to the Tropic of Cancer "where hauing the Sun within sixe or seuen degrees right ouer our head in July, we bore away West." Owing to the heat many became ill "and out of two ships was throwne ouer-board thirtie two persons." The "Blessing" was fortunate, inasmuch as, although

she carried a score of women and children, there was no illness.

It was on July 25 that, when in the neighbourhood of the Bahamas, the squadron were caught and scattered by the tail end of a hurricane which continued for forty hours. Every ship now continued independently, but about August 3 the "Blessing," "Lion," "Falcon" and "Unity" sighted each other and sailed straight away for Virginia "finding neither current nor wind opposite, as some haue reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Aduenturers." But the "Unity" came up in great distress. Of her seventy landsmen not ten were now fit, and all her seamen "were downe" with the exception of the Master, a sailor and a boy, so "Blessing" lent them hands. In "Unity" also two boys had been born during the voyage—but both had died.

These four of the eight ships sailed into the James River on August 11: they had thus been three months out from the Thames, and of course they found Argal's ship already arrived. Four days later came Ratcliffe in the "Diamond." She had won through that hurricane, but she had been compelled to cut away her mainmast and many of her people were very ill and weak. On August 18 sailed in the "Swallow," also minus mainmast and leaking badly. That meant six had reached port; but two, namely the flagship "Sea-Venture," with the three most important officials aboard, and the ketch were still missing and no one had news of either. Now when Smith's look-outs informed him of the approaching half squadron, the President assumed that here was a Spanish expedition coming to invade Virginia. But so sound were his preparations that there was no panic in Jamestown, every man went to his post and even the Indians were there to render every assistance. A strange sight these vessels presented in the river, lacking spars and much of their canvas.

But the worst was still to come, and when Smith met his old enemies Ratcliffe, Martin and Archer the trouble began. These three, seeing that Somers, Gates and the flagship had not arrived but that in all probability these were lost, now began to show their efforts to poison the minds of the new-comers against the President. Lord De la Warr himself had not accompanied this squadron but was to sail from England at a later date, and to arrive only after Smith had left the colony. We have two aspects of the inevitable quarrel as viewed from opposite sides. Thus Archer on August 31 wrote : " Now did we all lament the absence of our Gouernour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President, to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gaue not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen that came in our Ships . . . they . . . chose Master West, my Lord de la Wars brother, to be their Gouernour. . . . For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be gouerned by the President that now is, after his time was expired ; and onely subjected our selues to Master West, whom we labour to haue next President."

In the account given by Potts, Tankard and Percy we have the version as seen from the angle of Smith's supporters, who resented the arrival and ambitions of Ratcliffe, Martin and Archer. " To a thousand mischieves those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruyl Gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies. . . . Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes. . . . The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule ; seeing how his authoritie was so vnxpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for England."

For this is what happened : Smith, now faced with all this plotting, " quickly layd by the heeles " the ring-

leaders, and then got on with extending the colony. For this reason he sent West with 120 selected men up river to start a plantation at the Falls, and Martin with a similar number he despatched to the Nandsamund country. It was now within a few days of Smith's twelvemonths' completion of office and therefore, as a new president had to be elected every year, he had chosen¹ this Martin to succeed him. Martin, however, after accepting it, resigned the honour to Smith after only three hours, well realizing that he was less suitable than Smith himself, and so went off to Nandsamund. In the latter mission Martin with his tactless ignorance of how to treat the Indians made a bungle and caused them to attack him, killing some of his men : it was therefore lucky that Martin had not remained in office.

West also showed himself inept. Having settled his men at the Falls, he was returning to Jamestown when Smith on his way up to inspect met West "wondering at his so quicke returne." Smith on reaching the Falls found that West had selected a site eminently unsuitable. The reader will remember that in the earlier part of our story we referred to a village named Powhatan belonging to the lesser Powhatan, a chief subordinate to the Great Powhatan. Smith accordingly bought from the lesser chief this village, but even then the stupid planters up there now established could not be trusted, for they so infuriated the natives by stealing their corn, robbing their gardens and houses, and detaining their people that once more the peace which had existed was now broken, and bloodshed followed. It needed all the President's ability to straighten things out. Powhatan

¹ In this action Smith was justified ; for, of the council, the only legal member at this date apart from Martin was Smith. The new Governor with a fresh authority had not yet arrived, and the time had come for the next year's president to be appointed. (See *The Generall Historie*, Bk. 3, Chapter xii.)

village now fortified, with two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, was so well approved that the colonists named it Nonesuch.

But this utterly unsuitable crowd, with still those mad "gilded hopes of the South Sea Mines," their unreasonable plots and factions, became beyond all endurance. Smith therefore left them to their own fortunes and they abandoned Nonesuch, whilst he returned to Jamestown. It was now about the beginning of September and the climax of his long and varied energies in this Virginia colony was at last to be reached. On his way back from his up-river trip and whilst sleeping in the open boat, some clumsy fellow accidentally fired Smith's powder-bag. This injured the President severely, tearing the flesh for nine or ten inches square from the poor man's thighs and body. In order to save himself from being burned to death by his blazing clothes, he had the presence of mind to leap overboard into the deep river. The flames were quenched, but he was nearly drowned and with difficulty his companions rescued him.

In great pain, still very anxious over his colony, he was carried seventy odd miles down by water to Jamestown, where he still contrived to carry on that state of preparation for any attacks, and detailed efforts to keep these emigrants in food. But Ratcliffe, Archer and the other confederates whom Smith had "laid by the heeles" previously, and were now about to be tried, feared that they would presently pay the penalty in death. Seeing how ill the President was, unable to stand on his feet, and driven nearly frantic by pain, they plotted to have him murdered in his bed. This duty fell to a couple of men named Coe and Dyer—the latter we have mentioned on a previous page as an old enemy of Smith. Fortunately when the last moment came, the hand that should have fired the pistol desisted : the

assassin lacked the courage. In this manner did the amazing Captain Smith yet again come within the nearest distance to death.

But he was in a bad way, there was no surgeon at Jamestown to tend his wounds, his enemies were now able to take the rule of the colony into their own hands, so he sent for the masters of the ships lying in the river and ordered them to get ready for England. It was the second week of September, he was taken on board yet few expected that he would live. Had that unfortunate accident not occurred he would have been able to settle these mutineers, but he had done his great work and laid the foundations on which a great colony and a new nation of civilization should rise.

He left the Jamestonians with three ocean-going ships, and seven boats with which to carry on trade. The harvest was newly gathered in, ten weeks' provisions in the store, and plenty of ordnance, muskets, powder, swords and pikes with which to defend the colony against all intruders. He had taught a hundred soldiers not merely military tactics but the language and terrain of the Indians. There were pigs, poultry, goats, sheep and horses : it remained only for his successors to carry on with the good work. Jamestown was not an ideal or suitable site, but for that he was not responsible, though he had recently by the purchase of the Powhatan property paved the way for the removal of the colony from an unhealthy neighbourhood to that on which the future Richmond was to be built. Jamestown he left as a strongly palisaded place with fifty or sixty houses and with several further outposts. And when we consider how hampered he had been with having a crowd of ne'er-do-wells, footmen for labourers, libertines, poor useless gentlemen, adventurers all in the worst of senses, who respected neither God, man's law, shame, nor the respect of their friends, the wonder is indeed that he was

able to keep going and to advance such a rabble towards any sort of well-being.

It was not until October 4 that Smith sailed away from Jamestown, for the ships had been delayed three weeks by his enemies in order to frame some "colourable complaints" against him : it was a fine opportunity for such men to have their revenge on an invalid. "Now all those Smith had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced," writes the account supposedly written by Pots and W. Phettiplace, "had free power and liberty to say or sweare any thing"; and "from a whole armefull" of accusations may be mentioned the following which are sufficiently unconvincing to need refutation :

It was suggested that he it was who caused the Indians to attack West's expedition at the Falls ; that he would not submit to the stolen authority of the Council, of which, in fact, Smith was the only lawful member ; that he had treated Powhatan in a bullying manner in order to get corn ; that he had driven from Jamestown some settlers to live on oysters. But less than a dozen witnesses could be found to swear against him, and some were lucky enough to get their passages to England under promise to testify contrary to their late President. And Ratcliffe, on the very day that the ships sailed, sent a letter¹ to the Earl of Salisbury referring to Smith as "This man is sent home to answere some misdeameanors, whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear him selfe from great imputation of blame. . . . Master George Pearcy my Lord of Northumberlands brother is elected our President, and Master West my Lord la Wars brother, of the councell, with me and Captaine Martine ; and some few of the best and worthyest that inhabite at James towne are assistantes in ther advise vnto vs."

¹ *State Papers, Colonial (1574-1621)*, vol. i. No. 19.

But nothing is more eloquent of Smith's value, whilst at Jamestown, than the fact that the colony went all to pieces after his departure. We are not investigating the history of Virginia but only Smith's relation thereto ; it will suffice, then, if we sum up briefly what occurred during the next few months. Those two sly Dutchmen, Adam and Francis, in the coming winter (1609-10) deserted again to the Great Powhatan, who also now mistrusted them and beat out their brains. On October 3, the day before Smith left, there arrived at Jamestown one of the nine vessels which had left Plymouth on June 2, 1609. This pinnace was evidently the one which had shortly afterwards separated from the rest and seemed to be on her way back to England. Named the "Virginia" and described as having been "built in the North Colony," she had now come with sixteen men. Two vessels were thus still missing, which we shall mention presently.

To this crew were added some more Jamestonians under Ratcliffe, and they were sent to live down at Point Comfort. Now, when the Indians learnt that Captain Smith had left the country, they rebelled, despoiled and murdered all whom they encountered. It was in this way that Martin and West lost their boats, nearly half their men, but succeeded in reaching Jamestown. Percy became so ill that his presidency was a farce "and now haue we 20 Presidents." The food shortage became acute. West and Ratcliffe, each with a small craft and about thirty men, were sent out to forage. The latter went to the Great Powhatan ; but, after some dispute as to whether full measure of corn was being delivered, Ratcliffe and nearly the whole party were massacred. It was entirely owing to Pocahontas that Henry Spelman (third son of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary) who had come out from England "being in displeasuer of my frendes, and desirous to see other

cuntryes" had his life preserved though taken prisoner. West at a later date went back to England.

That winter—from October to May—so proved the loss to the colony of Smith, that even his worst traducers now longed for his return. No corn could be got from the Indians he had taught to trade : nothing but mortal wounds, arrows and clubs. The pigs and poultry were consumed by the officers ; swords, arms and everything of value gradually disappeared in efforts to extract some food from the natives. Each month got worse and this winter was for ever after known as "The Starving Time," during which the population dropped from about 500 to about 60 men, women and children, who eked out a terrible existence on roots, herbs, berries, nuts and a little fish. Then they ate the horses, even to the skins, and finally these wretched people, who had once lived in England on beef, now were reduced to cannibalism. "Nay, so great was our famine," says one account collected by Dr. Simmonds, "that a Saluage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him ; and so did diuers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs : And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [i.e. salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne ; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserued : now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not ; but of such a dish as powdered wife I neuer heard of."¹

Thus, with contrast with Smith's prevision, industrious providence and good governing, Jamestown encountered its worst famine ; nor would these very few have survived another day but for the dramatic arrival on May 24 of those missing officers, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and 150 people who had left England with the nine ships just a year ago and had been given up for lost. For this is what had happened. The two

¹ *The Generall Historie of Virginia, Bk. 4.*

missing craft, you will remember, were the ketch and the flagship "Sea-Venture." In that hurricane the former went down with all hands, but the latter during the storm sprang a leak, so that the men standing on the ballast with buckets, barricoes and kettles to bail out were up to their middles in water. After pumping and bailing for three days and nights, the work was hopeless. Just then, however, Sir George Somers sitting on the poop of the sinking ship, trying to keep her on an even keel, suddenly sighted land. All sail was set, she reached the shore, and miraculously bumped from rock to rock till finally she stuck fast upright between two.

It was an amazing incident, for the wind gave way to calm, the sea went down, the boats were able to land people and provisions without the loss of a man. This was none other than the uninhabited Bermudas. Here they lived, fished, hunted pigs, and then decked over the ship's long-boat with the "Sea-Venture's" hatches, and sent her off with nine men to reach Virginia. Evidently she got caught in heavy weather, for she was never heard of again. But those left on the island continued, a boy was born and named Bermudas, a girl was born and named Bermuda, and a marriage also took place. There were built two craft of cedar-wood, which they called "Patience" and "Deliuernce," that were rigged and provisioned. On May 10, 1610, these two pinnaces started off with all hands except two men who were left behind for bad behaviour, and a fortnight later arrived at Jamestown. When the two knights perceived the sixty scarcely living survivors of what Smith had left as a vital village, it was decided to quit the colony. Every one was put aboard and on June 7 they said good-bye to the settlement, made sail and at noon anchored at Hogs' Island, evidently to wait till the next tide. On the next day they started off from the abandoned colony

that had cost so much to Smith and were on their way to England ; and then, before many hours had passed, happened one of those events which prove that nothing in the whole realm of imaginative fiction can be so startlingly dramatic, so tense with surprise, as some events in history.

They had got no further down on June 8 than Mulbery Point when, lo and behold, there was a ship's longboat. No, it was not the two men left on Bermuda, but coming from the ship that had just brought Lord de la Warr across from England to take up his work as Governor of Virginia, and with his vessel had come two others full of all requisite supplies. Thus on June 9 they all went up to Jamestown and the continuity of Virginia was thus virtually unbroken. From that date, in spite of all that had to be done and endured, the colony took on a new history which is too well known for us here to consider. If Jamestown had to go and a new capital be chosen, those who to-day go down the river, past the ruined church and a few tombstones, may still remember with gratitude the name of John Smith who preserved the fragile idea alive till it could be handed on to the first Governor. Just as the James River still yields its oysters and sturgeon, so it must always associate itself with that great-minded, long-suffering Englishman who used to sail up and down between its banks wondering from where the next bushels of corn were coming in order to fill the bellies of undeserving drones.

For if ever there existed a link between England and America, surely it lies somewhere inside Capes Henry and Charles, buried yet living, invisible yet most truly wrought ; by one who according to all Anglo-Saxon standards was every inch a man.

CHAPTER XVIII

AT SEA AGAIN



MITH arrived in England by December, 1609, and was therefore not yet thirty years old ; yet already he had packed into his span at least half a dozen remarkable lives. Looking back in later life on that Virginia experience, he referred to it as having cost " me neare fife yeares worke, and more then fife hundred pound of my owne estate ; beside all the dangers, miseries, and incomberances and losse of other imployments I endured gratis. From which blessed Virgin, where I stayed till I left fife hundred English, better prouided than euer I was (ere I returned), sprung the fortunate habitation of Somer Isles," better known as Bermudas.

" This Virgins Sister, now called New England " was presently to occupy his attention in the same thorough, painstaking manner after his serious wounds had at last been healed. This, of course, took some time, but we know perfectly well that no man of his exceptional energy, who had felt and listened to the call of the wild, could possibly remain long in England idle. There are blanks during the next few months that may legitimately be filled up by a discerning imagination. He was too modest to tell us anything more concerning his excruciating physical suffering either during those weeks crossing the Atlantic or in the subsequent winter at home ; but we know that to his active spirit this compulsory quietude

must have been as irksome as it was to be out of a job.

His detailed experience, his outspoken critical attitude towards the London Company's policy and methods, made him from their point of view a dangerous man to be in England and unemployed ; just as in our own time there are few more feared censors of Service matters than retired admirals and generals. But the reconstitution of the company, the new regime of aristocratic rather than military governors, did not prevent his being occasionally consulted. There is on record a list of seven questions which His Majesty's commissioners for the reformation of Virginia put to him in 1624, and his answers are singularly clear, direct and practical. "If I be too plaine," he completed the questionnaire, "I humbly craue your pardon ; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty."

The first actual evidence of how he began to occupy his time is manifested by the publication at Oxford in the year 1612 of *A Map of Virginia, With a Description of the Countrey, The Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey*, to which were added as a second part *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612 . . .* written not by Smith but containing a number of historical statements by certain gentlemen and soldiers of the original, First and Second "Supplies," edited by the Rev. Dr. William Simmonds.

The first portion—that is to say that part of which Smith was author—was really a fuller and more considered version of that *Relation of the Countries and Nations inhabiting the Chesapeake region shown in the Mappe of the Bay and Rivers* which Smith had sent home to the London Company in 1608. In 1625 Purchas in his

Pilgrimes published an abridgement of *A Map of Virginia*. Smith was in effect providing a monograph which should give intending planters a useful handbook containing a vocabulary of Indian words and phrases, particulars about the soil, inhabitants, geography and the like. It was a work of love, enthusiastic for England's expansion by colonization, but it was, too, a warning how not to proceed. He wrote, as he said, in this book "as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note ; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia."

His love for this his colony-child and the desire for her prosperity never died so long as he lived ; but his concentration now was devoted towards New England "when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land." It was to be the counterpart of his valuable work in the south, but not being a wealthy man or a peer of the realm the undertaking was difficult enough. As he wittily expresses, "I neuer had power and meanes to do anything (though more hath bene spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse) but in such a penurious and miserable maner, as if I had gone a begging to builde an Vniversity. . . . Thus betwixt the spurre of Desire, and the bridle of Reason, I am neare ridden to death in a ring of Despaire."

The debt which we owe to Smith as a pioneer in that northerr territory that he named, and ever since has been called, New England is not much less than was earned in the Chesapeake country and neighbourhood ; for, whatever else he might have achieved or left undone, his exploration of New England would alone have earned his right to future fame. Little had been attempted before his arrival there. On March 24, 1602, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold had sailed from Dartmouth, gone as far south as the Azores, run west from there and made the American land on May 11, having evidently altered

course farther north, for in the account written by John Brierton, who was on board, they arrived in "about latitude 43." At length they came to some "fayre Iles" some distance off the shore which were beautiful with vines, blossoms and fowl so that the name Martha's Vineyard suggested itself and has remained ever since. On May 14 he had discovered Cape Cod, but no permanent settlement was made in North America, and on July 23, 1602, Gosnold's ship was back in England up the Exe.

Owing to the encouragement and influence of Richard Hakluyt, the citizens of Bristol in the following year raised £1000 and sent out a couple of small vessels. Robert Salterne, who had been with Gosnold, went as pilot; they proceeded by the Azores and about the 7th of June reached 43° North likewise. This voyage confirmed Gosnold's work and they came home reporting abundance of fish. On March 5, 1605, Captain George Waymouth left the Thames, called at Dartmouth, on April 24 reached the Azores and afterwards crossed to the North American coast where during May they found plenty of cod and whales. Their primitive charts he found (not surprisingly) "most directly false." No permanent settlement was made and on July 18, 1605, they were back in England at Dartmouth.

Then in 1606 letters-patent granted by James I for the limitation of Virginia defined that area as extending from Lat. 34° to 44° North. That portion lying between 34° and 41° was available for the City of London: that between 38° and 44° was for the adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and the West of England. But between the two colonies there was to be a distance of at least a hundred miles. With the founding of the Roanoke and Jamestown sections we are already familiar, but there was still a wide vagueness concerning the character of that vast territory to the

north of Cape Charles. The West Countrymen's area had been known under such names as Norumbega and Nusconcus. In the year 1607 Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, sent out an expedition to take possession of this land, but after a temporary settlement they all returned to England, in 1608, as we have mentioned already in an earlier chapter.

Then the Earl of Southampton had despatched an expedition which proved that Cape Cod was not an island but part of the mainland. Some five Indians they brought home, but apart from the above details and further discovery that the charts were very inaccurate, little knowledge had been gained. It is at this point that John Smith, recovered from his lacerated thigh, and laying aside his literary work, now enters again as the traveller by sea, explorer and map-maker : thus we are off again with that rover whom England could never hold by her fireside for long. It may be surmised how for over four years he had chafed restlessly, like a ship at anchor but with all sails set longing to be off towards unknown shores.

In order to get the correct emphasis, we cannot omit from our consideration to note that from the seventeenth century there comes into nautical history, with a much stronger importance than ever, the industry of fishing. It meant not merely an increase of maritime effort, but a keener incitement to use the sea and build craft. From this larger seamanship were to be obtained the personnel for the men-of-war, privateers, East Indiamen, and so on. But it meant something more than that. Spain as a naval rival had reached her climax ; Holland and France were, in turn, before long to become first-rate powers afloat and thus inevitably challenge and collide with English pride. Holland, especially, by reason of her contiguity to the North Sea, and the rich harvest of the herring off her coasts, was encouraged to raise up a mighty

marine and personnel. Any one with a little vision could have foretold the coming Anglo-Dutch wars.

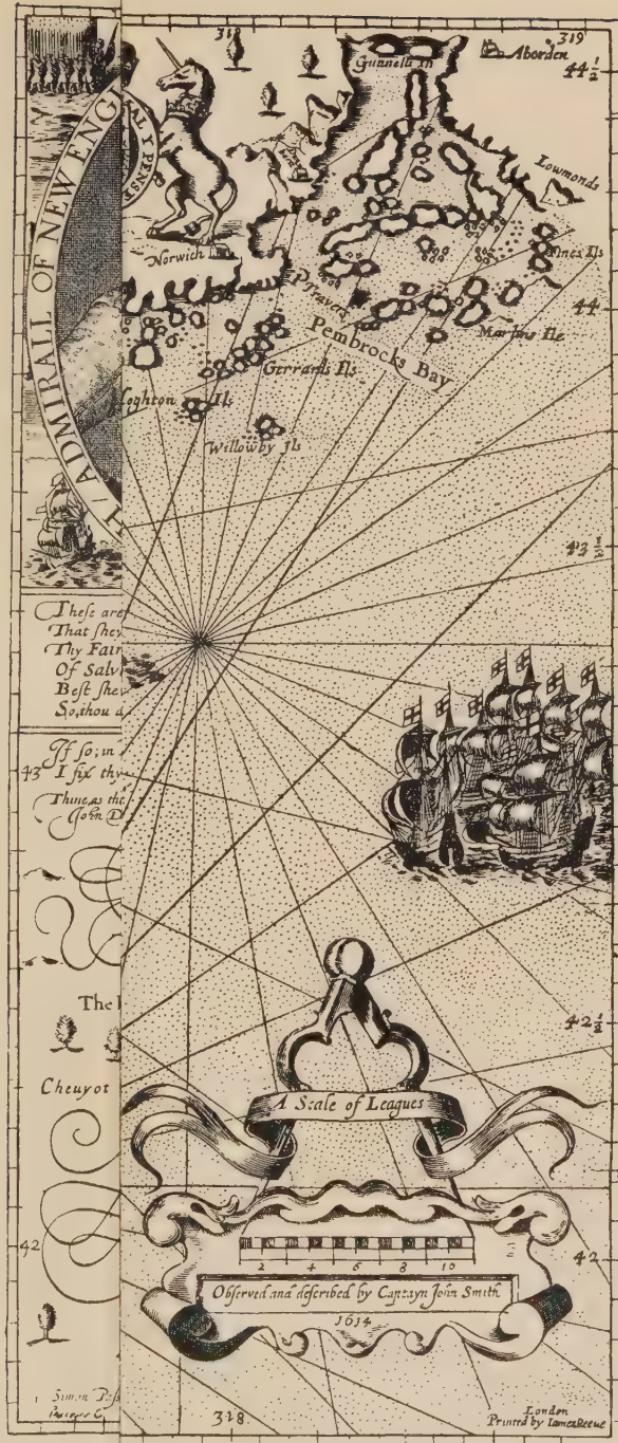
But the English and Scottish fishermen learnt quickly and extensively from the Dutch, and thus enter, as a great motive for jealousy, not merely the herring but the whale. The subject need not be more than referred to here : in another volume I have dealt with its development from early days. It will suffice to say that the Dutch had been catching whales ever since the sixteenth century, that the Biscayans had been harpooning even still longer. A Dutch Whaling Company had sent out seven well-armed ships, and in 1618 there was an unfortunate affair when some of the Hollanders captured an English whaler and sailed her off to Amsterdam. It was four years before this incident that four Englishmen —Captain Marmaduke Royden, Captain George Langam, Master John Buley and Master William Skelton—had fitted out two ships. These were put under the command of Captain John Smith with orders to proceed to that part of the North American coast lying in “ $43\frac{1}{2}$ of Northerly latitude” in order to do two things : “there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge.” We can dismiss that undying but futile lust for precious metal as readily as Smith did ; but there was certainly much in the fishery idea, and one Samuel Cramton and others went with him as whaling experts. It was rather the owner-masters of the ships who encouraged the gold idea, with a view to getting their craft chartered.

The vessels under Smith were two in number, with a crew of only forty-five men and boys. After setting out from London, they departed from the Downs on March 3, 1614, crossed the Atlantic, and reached their destination on the last day of April. Had the whaling turned out as anticipated, Smith was to remain there

ashore in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth (New Hampshire) with about ten men so as to take possession of that large American territory. Whales were certainly sighted in numbers, much time was spent in hunting them, but none could be killed, nor were they the right kind. Attention was therefore concentrated on fishing and obtaining furs. Seven small boats they built—the custom of those days being to take such small craft out in sections on board—and, whilst thirty-seven of his people were employed catching 47,000 fish, Smith with eight men went off in a small boat along the coast, explored, made a map, got acquainted with the natives, bartered for a few trifles some thousands of furs and skins, and then set sail on the 18th of July for England, arriving safely back home at the end of August. Thus in less than six months he had been there and back and made £1500 (in current money); for the dried fish was sold to Spain; the furs, oil and other fish being sold in England.

Smith had taken out with him six or seven charts or maps of those parts, but found them "so vnlike each other, and most so differing from any true proportion or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more." For the convenience of others "I haue drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Landmarks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to be obserued which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit. For being sent more to get present commodities then knowledge by discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would. . . . Thus you may see, of this 2000 miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose."

This map he presented to Prince Charles (the future



MAP OF

Engraved in 1614 by Simon van der Pas of Utrecht, who worked in London for about a decade

Charles I of England, then only fourteen years old) begging His Royal Highness to change "their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince Charles was their God-father." Thus it was that Cape Cod was changed by the boy to Cape James, though to-day we know it by its original appellation. Massachusetts River was named Charles River, Cape Tragabigzanda (in commemoration of his slave days) was changed to the present Cape Ann ; but those which to-day are called Isles of Shoals lying off the New Hampshire shore to the south-east of Portsmouth were named by their map-maker "Smith's Iles," and the boy prince left the title at that.

In the days when all these adventurers were in a hurry to get rich ; when poverty was so widespread and honest men so frequently broke their promises under the strain of temptation, it is well to note how John Smith fared. On his way up the English Channel from this voyage he put into Plymouth, where in course of conversation with certain investors he agreed to go to New England next time on their behalf. Proceeding from Plymouth to London, "I found so many promised me such assistance" that they wished him to go out again with four good ships before the Plymouth people had made the necessary preparations. But Smith, as a matter of honour, even at the cost of causing offence to his London friends "whose loue and fauour I exceedingly desired" had to refuse this employment : "for hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrey, I had beene very dishonest to haue broke my promise." The point may be small and not worth stressing, yet it is by such actions that a man's true character is illumined. He was, as the modern expression puts it, anxious "to play the game" ; or, as he remarked, "so that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire ; be it Londoner, Scot, Welch, or English, that

are true subiects to our King and Countrey : the good of my Countrey is that I seeke ; and there is more than enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed." And yet whom could Smith reckon a friend when even Thomas Hunt, master of the ship which had accompanied Smith on the first New England voyage, "practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots"?

"Plots," of course, were the maps or charts which Smith had plotted of the New England coast.

The West Countrymen, owing to the interest of Sir Ferdinando George and the Dean of Exeter and a few of Smith's London friends, at last fitted out a ship of 200 tons and one a quarter that size. But after starting out from Plymouth in March, 1615, when less than four hundred miles had been covered, they were caught in such heavy weather that the bigger vessel carried away all her masts and began leaking seriously. During each watch they pumped as many as five thousand strokes, and with only that little square spritsail, which was normally set just below the high-steeved bowsprit, she went scudding before the wind until such time as the weather allowed them to make a jury mast, re-rig her as best they could, and then return to Plymouth. The smaller ship had lost sight of the senior, so proceeded on her voyage.

The object of this intended voyage by Smith had been "to beginne a Plantation" in New England and do whatever else he could for his investors. "Much labour I had taken," he wrote, "to bring the Londoners and them [i.e. the West Countrymen] to joyne together, because the Londoners haue most Money, and the Westerne men are most proper for fishing ; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to saile from London to Plimoth, then from Plimoth to New England, so that halfe the voiage would thus be sauied :

yet by no meanes I could preuaile, so desirous they were both to be Lords of this fishing."

It is interesting, thus, to note how little our ancestors feared the deep open ocean when once clear of the land, yet how much they dreaded the unbuoyed Thames estuary with its many shoals, and hated coastal navigation down Channel. The fact must always be remembered that these were unhandy ships which had to wait for a fair wind ; and if caught on a lee shore they were finished. Their gear and spars were not reliable, and any one who has read a few voyages of English seamen of the late Elizabethans or early Stuarts knows well enough that gales of wind were always springing their masts. But now from Plymouth he obtained a vessel of 60 tons, he transferred to her the remainder of the provisions and with a crew of thirty sailed from Plymouth on June 24, 1615. On this voyage he was to experience such an exciting series of events that he might be living over again that period when he had sailed about the Mediterranean ; for this is what happened, and if you will picture in your mind his little craft, with only four guns and small crew but with a captain whose character we well know, there is for us a slice of seafaring life that might have come from the pages of a boy's story-book.

Out in the Atlantic, whilst sailing south, a fine vessel of 140 tons was sighted who gave chase to Smith's little craft. She turned out to be a pirate armed with thirty-six guns and carrying a crew of eighty experienced seamen and soldiers. These had actually been taken prisoners by those pests of civilization, the Barbarian corsairs, who had become so bold and impudent that they harassed European shipping on its lawful occasions, not merely in the Mediterranean but the eastern side of the Atlantic. Few, precious few indeed, were those who when once captured and condemned to slavery ever

got back to England, France or anywhere else : they remained in Tunis, Algiers or other North African port to end their miserable days. And it may here be mentioned that in 1617—only two years after the date we are discussing—the danger had become so serious that France was compelled to send a great fleet of fifty ships against these detestable people. Three years later, too, the English navy of James I performed its only active service when a fleet of eighteen vessels was sent against Algiers, as previously noted.

Now the remarkable thing about the English pirate-ship chasing Smith was that she was commanded by one named Fry, with Chambers as her master, Miller as her mate and Digby as pilot or navigator, but they and the crew had recently been captured by the corsairs, taken into Tunis, whence they had desperately stolen this ship and got away : they were thus a pretty tough crowd and were uncomfortably short of provisions, determined to help themselves from Smith's ship. It was an uneven contest from the first, but for two long days the chase continued, and the heavy weather prevented the pirate from coming alongside. Finally the latter ranged up and insisted that Smith should yield, proving the obvious that it was impossible for the small vessel to defend herself. Smith had sufficient sense and experience of pirates to know this was perfectly true. The enemy further demanded—as a German submarine molesting an armed merchantman during the Great War used to insist—that, as the attackers had no boat, the other craft should send hers. Smith argued the point, and so held his own that he was able to extract from that hopeless situation such good terms that every one marvelled so inferior a vessel should be able to dictate her conditions to one superior. But Smith told them that, unless the pirates kept the agreement, he would sink the ship.

Smith sent his boat alongside, and Fry vowed not to

take anything from the late President that might upset the intended voyage to New England, nor should more pirates be sent on board than Smith approved : otherwise there should be bloodshed. And then a remarkable coincidence happened : for many of this pirate crew, lately of Tunis, were soldiers who had formerly served under Smith, whom they loved. Nay, they would have yielded all to his protection now, but unfortunately Smith's present crew contained a lot of mutineers and cowards so the offer was rejected.

Smith was lucky to have emerged as he had, for more than fifty per cent. of Fry's crew consisted of first-class or "master" gunners against whom the smaller ship had no earthly chance. The next incident occurred off Fayal, Azores, where they encountered a couple more pirates, both Frer 1, one ship being of 200 tons, the other of 30 tons. Smith's ship having been chased for a time, the late President of Virginia had some trouble with Chambers, Miller, Digby and others, who were so terrified and so certain the enemy were Barbarian corsairs who would cast them all into slavery that they at first mutinied and refused to fight and begged their captain to give in. If, they added, the enemy should turn out to be Frenchmen, and the English ship fired so much as one gun, then Chambers, Smith and every one would be thrown into the sea. "We came out in this ship to fish, not to fight," was their argument.

We all know that type of sailor, so did Smith ; and since fear of disgrace could not enthuse them, he shook them heartily by threatening to blow up the ship if they did not "stand to their defence." This had the desired effect, the guns were fired, and at last the ship managed to sail away clear in spite of the pirates' hot attack. A little later whilst still in the Azores area, but now near Flores, four French privateers chased them "all with their close fights afore and after," stated Daniel Baker,

who was Captain Smith's steward and a witness ; so they were clearly prepared for action. The senior enemy was a vessel of 140 tons, 12 guns, 90 men with pistols, muskets, swords and poignards ; the second ship was of 100 tons, the third of 60 tons, the fourth of 80 tons, the total privateer personnel being 250.

The result of the fight was a foregone conclusion, but Smith had placed his ship in a state of defence ; and, as before, Chambers with his associates begged their Captain to yield, saying there was nothing but ruin in fighting. They suggested that, as Smith could speak French, he might go aboard, win the pirates' courtesy and thus freedom. A good deal of talk ensued, but since the enemy professed themselves to be out of La Rochelle and had a commission (i.e. letters of marque) only to capture Portuguese, Spaniards and pirates, and would like to show Captain Smith their sealed commission, the latter was invited on board. He went accompanied by some of his shipmates, but the privateers turned out to be no respecter of vows, for they detained Smith and next day rifled his ship, dispersed the English crew in the four French vessels and manned the Plymouth craft with some of their own Frenchmen.

For a while there were thus five privateers, with which they chased other vessels so that within a week the squadron numbered nine. But at last, possibly owing to Smith's tactful activity (though he was too modest ever to relate his part in the affair) the enemy released the English craft together with most of her provisions. It would seem that the French realized the late President's unique knowledge in naval tactics and considerably profited by his advice ; for Smith, having now returned to his own command, was about to continue the voyage to New England. The crew, however, were so uneasy that they insisted on returning to Devonshire. It was pointed out that already so much of the journey had been

accomplished that it was just as near to carry on to North America ; finally, Smith succeeded in persuading most of them to carry on. But, if they preferred, he would agree to Newfoundland, whence the ship could return to England with a cargo of fish whilst he would find some means of getting on with that plantation scheme for which he had been sent out.

Some inevitable but unfortunate delay followed whilst the Englishmen were going round the fleet collecting the various articles that had been taken from them—arms, clothes, powder, navigational instruments, the Captain's own sword, dagger, bedding, ship's papers, his supply of aqua-vitæ and much else that could now be returned. It was just whilst this was going on that the privateers espied a sail, so the senior officer immediately sent his boat for Captain Smith to repair on board the flagship. The chase of the stranger continued until the night, and on the next day it was blowing very hard with a heavy sea. The Plymouth ship now manœuvred abreast of the privateer flagship in which Smith still was, but that unsatisfactory fellow, Chambers, in so doing managed to split the mainsail by getting it foul of the privateer's spritsail yard. After this bad bit of seamanship, Chambers had the impertinence to hail Smith and say that if the latter did not come aboard he would leave him. Smith commanded Chambers to send along the ship's boat, to which the rascal lyingly replied that it had been split and if the Captain wished to come he must do so in the privateer's boat. Smith's answer was that he was not in a position to order the Frenchman, nor to come as he would.

This suited Chambers's cowardly, treacherous character, so that night he let the Plymouth ship drop astern and then, deserting his commander, left Captain Smith alone among the privateers with nothing but his cap, breeches and waistcoat. In the meantime, whilst these

base Englishmen sailed away, they parted amongst themselves his possessions and then made off for Plymouth.

Aboard that French ship he was regarded now with suspicion, for Chambers and Miller had spread the slander that Smith would revenge himself against all the French vessels or persons he should find off the Newfoundland Banks or ashore. For this reason he was kept in captivity, the gunroom being first his prison. But he was able to note that after hovering about the Azores, waiting for the Spanish West Indian fleet to come eastward, bad weather separated the senior French ship from the other eight. And during this period he who had once been ruler in Virginia now in order "to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate" wrote *A Description of New England*, containing his observations and account of his discoveries in Northern America. He was hoping for an opportunity to send this manuscript to the Privy Council of James I by some chance ship, but he carried it about with him for some months later, so it was completed and first published in London during the month of June, 1616. In his epistolary dedication "To the right Worshipfull Aduenturers for the Countrey of New England, in the Cities of London, Bristow, Exceter, Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastaple, Totneys, &c. and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome of England," there is one significant sentence which gives us another sidelight on his character. For, always the man of action with utter contempt for drones, he makes this apology : "I confesse it were more proper for mee, To be doing what I say, then writing what I knowe." You remember his motto—"vincere est vivere."

But now the flagship was in turn chased by Captain Barrow, an English pirate, whose crew were starving for want of provisions. Monsieur Poyrune, the flag-

ship's captain, promised what they required, insomuch that Barrow's second-in-command, Captain Wolliston, and several others were enticed on board. Immediately afterwards Barrow and the rest were captured by force, but afterwards released. The next prize which Poyrune took was a small English fishing craft of Poole, homeward bound from Newfoundland. Smith, now transferred to the flagship's "great caben," from there watched with grief the Frenchmen pillaging his countrymen's property and fish. Not much later a Scottish ship bound from St. Michael, Azores, for Bristol was taken, but a boatload of sugar, marmalade and the like had only just been rowed aboard when four more vessels were descried. Now, when the French observed that these furled their mainsails in preparation for fight and perceived the red-cross flags of St. George, it seemed more advisable to the privateer that English men-of-war should be left alone.

Shortly afterwards a Spanish West Indian squadron, numbering four, was chased and fought for five hours, the attackers tearing the latter's sails and sides, but not daring to board. And then came a poor caravel from Brazil, which was chased. After a brief resistance she surrendered, half her crew of twenty-eight being wounded. She was made a prize together with her 370 chests of sugar. The next was a Dutchman, bound from the Magellan Straits, and then was taken a West Indiaman full of valuable hides, cochineal, silver, and so on to the value of 200,000 crowns.

In this manner passed the time from August to October, 1615, and Poyrune cleverly employed Smith "to manage their fights" when it was a case of attacking Spanish ships, but when English people were captured he was promptly sent down below. Repeatedly Poyrune had promised to land Smith at the Azores, yet now he was at length sent in the caravel to France, whither also

the squadron started off. But that night she got separated from them by a gale, and when Smith's caravel reached her anchorage not far from La Rochelle it was already November. Instead of receiving his share of the prize money as promised to the extent of 10,000 crowns, he was still kept a prisoner in the caravel.

La Rochelle is that French port on the west coast separated by a narrow strait from the Ile de Ré, and in those times as in ours strongly associated with the Newfoundland fishing trade. Ré is eighteen miles long and also comes into our story. For, after about a week of captivity in that caravel, there came a heavy November gale, which caused the Frenchmen to remain "under hatches." Smith watched his chance, and with great pluck got away in the ship's boat. The current was so strong and the seas so bad that he had a difficult time, being swept out towards the Atlantic. It was raining hard with heavy squalls, but still he remained afloat. Tired out with bailing and sculling from the boat's stern, he expected every minute would be his last, but wind and tide turned together, the seas were thus moderated and he finally came ashore at a muddy island to the south of the Ile de Ré at the River Charente, where he was found by some fowlers half drowned and nearly dead with cold and hunger. He made them a present of the boat in return for means to reach La Rochelle.

Smith, by this latest of narrow escapes, had been again remarkably lucky ; for about eighteen miles to the north, where all Poyrune's squadron had arrived, this same gale caused devastation. Thirteen ships were wrecked on the island, Poyrune himself and half of his company were drowned and over £100,000 worth (in then current money) of treasure captured at sea was thus lost. Some men had escaped, and Smith promptly had them arrested to prove before the Admiralty judge the justice of his claims for prize money. After this Smith went further

south to Bordeaux, where he interviewed the English ambassador and met again that old shipmate, Crampton, with whom he had been to New England.

At La Rochelle Madame Chanoyes, like Tragbigzanda, Callamata and Pocahontas treated him charitably, so at last, in the knowledge that some 3600 crowns' worth of goods had come ashore from the valuable West Indiaman, and that the caravel also was saved, and the judge promising that he should have justice, Smith left France in December and got back to Plymouth, where he had long since been given up for dead. Nor did he waste much time in obtaining justice in respect of those mutineers who had left him with the Frenchmen to proceed home. He caused to be arrested as many of the ringleaders as he could find, and the rest were taken before the proper authority, and after examination confessed the truth.



CHAPTER XIX

SMITH COMES ASHORE



HIS was the last of Smith's voyages, and now at the age of 36 his long list of adventures by land and sea had come to an end. He was to spend the next fifteen years that remained of his life in doing all that he could, by writing his books, distributing them and his maps, to create a great patriotic enthusiasm for colonizing America. He had in Virginia and New England begun that great overseas expansion which was to mould the greater part of world civilization in accordance with Anglo-Saxon ideals. By personal sacrifice of mind, body and estate, through innumerable trials and afflictions, he had shown to the uttermost power of any human being his belief in this plantation principle.

The following words written soon after his return from this French phase conclude *A Description of New England*; and, without sententiousness or insincerity, they form the *apologia* for his attitude towards his life.

" Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death : Seeing our good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christ's merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell : Seeing honour is our liues ambition ; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life : and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee

abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors ; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors."

In the spring of 1614 Pocahontas had at Jamestown married Captain John Rolfe of the colony, with the full approval of Powhatan, and two years later came with her husband on a visit to England. It was then that Smith, ever mindful of those who had befriended him, petitioned the consort of James I on her behalf. "She," he submitted, "next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion." He speaks of her as "the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman" and begged Queen Anne "to take this knowledge of her." Pocahontas, now aged about 21, was received both by the Queen and by the King, and during her stay in England made a favourable impression wherever she went. Smith had not seen her since 1609 ; and on going to see her she at first seemed not to recognize him. Later on she remembered him well, and reminded him that Smith called Powhatan father. She, too, now for courtesy called Smith her father. But the gallant ex-President, with full consciousness that she was a king's daughter would not permit himself that honour. She then insisted he should call her child, and so would always be English like himself. "They always told us you were dead," she added, "and until I reached Plymouth that was all that I knew." As every one is aware, Pocahontas did not live to see America again, but died at Gravesend.

When Smith had landed in December 1615 at Plymouth from France, he had immediately renewed his efforts towards voyaging again to New England. There was a good deal of bad feeling between the merchants of London and the West Country. "I did my best to have united them," he wrote, "but that had beene more

than a worke for Hercules, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse." Matters, however, got so far advanced that he was given a squadron of three good ships at Plymouth, where, like many other vessels at the same port and time, he was kept wind-bound for three months. The season was then passed, so he did not proceed, though the squadron was sent without him to Newfoundland.

The year 1617 Captain Smith spent in the West Country trying to persuade the citizens, townsmen and gentry to undertake the financing of a plantation in New England, but neither the merchants nor the gentlemen had sufficient confidence in the scheme. They did, however, after considerable discussion promise him a fleet of twenty ships for the next year and "made me Admirall of the Country for my life" under the seal for New England. But the scheme fell through and "nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected, for all this aire."

In 1618 that distinguished lawyer, statesman and philosopher, Francis Bacon, had been made a peer and Lord High Chancellor of England, and Smith took the liberty of writing to try and interest this illustrious personage in colonizing New England. He began by seeking to convince the noble lord that the requisite qualifications were possessed. "This 19 yeares I haue encountered noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves. . . . With a stock of 500oli¹ I durst venture to effect it, though more than 10000oli hath bene spent in Virginia and the Barmudas to small purpose." The petitioner pointed out that the Biscayners, French and Hollanders would back this scheme. "But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home." He

¹ Or about £50,000 in to-day's money. It is not too much to reckon that the value of money is now about ten times more than what it was in the early seventeenth century.

further desired that the King should be pleased to lend them a pinnace in which to lodge Smith's men and protect the New England coast for eight or ten months until the colony had settled down. Such was the earnest enthusiasm of this incorrigible colonizer that he added the following entreaty : " In the interim I humbly desyre your Honour would be pleased to grace me with the title of your Lordship's servant. Not that I desyre," he was very careful in adding, " to shut vpp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idlenes, but that thereby I may be the better countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage."

Thus, to the utmost of his power, did Smith endeavour to continue his pioneering, and it is perhaps unfortunate that Bacon had to decline this application. But, for all these disappointments and lack of results, he was doing some sound constructive work. The map which he had made of New England had already shown itself a good piece of work in contradistinction to those earlier " plots " that had been found so inaccurate. This map dating from 1614 has been, in fact, the basis of New England charts. The book, *A Description of New England*, however, had been printed in 1616 before Prince Charles had altered the nomenclature of certain places and points, but the map *when engraved* contained the names in accordance with the Prince's choice. It is to be noted, further, that Boston was given not to the locality which to-day we recognize on the River Charles, but to that district where the modern Portsmouth stands, and originally known to Smith by the name of Accominticus.

It was in 1620 that he published his tract *New Englands Trials*, with the intent to show its capabilities of success, but the substance of this had been written in 1618 and employed in that effort to persuade Bacon. The first copies printed were dedicated " To the Right Honorable

and Worthy aduenters to all discoueries and Plantations, espetially to New England." Other copies contained a dedication "To the Right Worshipful the Maister, the Wardens, and the Companie of the Fish-mongers." And it is characteristic that he feels it necessary to add a word of explanation to this piece of valuable information yet honest propaganda. "Many," he says, "do thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, and the rest so long without employment. And I thinke it more strange," he defends himself, "they should tax me before they haue tried what I haue done both by Sea and Land, as well in Asia, and Affrica, as Europe and America." His object was to influence peers of the realm and the City companies of London so as to get people "to inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel : which with my life and what I haue I will endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit."

To all these arguments and illustrative narration concerning New England under the above title we know that Smith gave the widest publicity that his zeal and money could provide. Just as he had spent the summer of 1616 travelling about to such Western towns as Bristol, Exeter, Barnstaple, Bodmin, Fowey, Saltash, Dartmouth, Totnes, giving the Cornish and Devonshire gentry books and maps showing what profits the few ships sent out to New England had reaped, so by the year 1621 he had caused to be printed of *New Englands Trials* two or three thousand copies : "one thousand with a great many Maps both of Virginia and New-England, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in London at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the vse of a stocke of fwe thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour."

But again he was disappointed, having waited most of a year to see what they would perform. Nothing could be done with these corporations, but he bore the disappointment with patience. "For all this, in all this time," he wrote, "though I had divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in London, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availe no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels ; so fresh were the living abuses of Virginia and the Summer Iles in their memories." In 1622 was printed a new edition of this tract, doubtless because so many copies had been distributed and he desired still further to urge the claims of this New England which he admired even more than Virginia. Nor, since he was unable to get finance and ships to voyage there himself, did he cease to employ his literary ability still further. In April of 1621 he began that much more ambitious *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, which was not to appear until three years later.

Smith's aim, as he explained to the London Virginia Company in that month, was to let the public know of Virginia's "faire and good report," so that the high opinion of her might be advanced, the work of such men as Somers, Raleigh, Gates, De la Warr and others perpetuated. Such a general history written down to that day would go all over the kingdom. A four-page prospectus was issued to the nobility and gentry, and the statement was added that "these obseruations are all I haue for the expences of a thousand pound, and the losse of eightene yeeres of time. . . . Therefore I humbly entreat your Honour, either to aduenture, or giue me what you please towards the impression, and I will be both accountable and thankful ; not doubting but that the Story will giue you satisfaction, and stirre vp a double

new life in the Aduenturers, when they shall see plainly the causes of all those defailements, and how they may be amended."

There is something pathetic in this self-effacement coming on the top of his innumerable adventures and perils, his disappointments and rebuffs. It is yet another side which manifests itself to us as this man goes plodding along convinced, beyond all discouragement, of his serious mission in life. This *Generall Historie* consisted of six books. The first concerns itself with the voyages and unsuccessful efforts to colonize Virginia up till 1605. The second and third books are revised reprints of Smith's previously published accounts concerning Virginia, which we have already mentioned. The fourth book begins at his departure from Jamestown and carries the story down till the year 1624. The fifth book is an account of the discovery and settlement of the Bermudas or Somer (wrongly named Summer) Isles. Inasmuch as Smith never visited Bermuda, this portion is to be regarded essentially as a compilation of some historical and propaganda matter than as first-hand information. The sixth book consists of a reprint with variations of Smith's *A Description of New England* and *New England's Trials*, together with his map of New England and some extracts from other writers. He is not a bit frightened of repetition, for he is so set on getting his countrymen to see the vast potentialities of this New World that awaits them beyond the sea.

We may count ourselves as fortunate that Smith lived and wrote at a time when the language of England was so full of beauty, containing all the excellence of Elizabethan words and phrases, together with a solemnity of rhythm and quaintness associated with the Bible's Authorized Version. Smith brought to his task exceptional powers of observation trained by long and diverse

travel ; clarity of thought developed by the long discipline of organizing and ruling ; a sense of humour which is born of familiarity with oft encountered danger ; a charm that belongs to a refined mind ; an unusual restraint, even when most indignant against injustice and inefficiency ; and, finally, an infectious enthusiasm which overflows from a heart that has been filled with patriotic and dutiful longing. The romance of attempting, the joy of beginning for posterity a great and noble task, were to him so real and lovely that all the intrigues of colleagues, all the indifference of superiors were but annoying incidents ; and in his narrations, his letters and his criticisms we can almost see the man who writes them. Always we can feel his vigorous, virile personality. From the many instances already afforded in these pages the reader is in a position to judge for himself.

In 1622, whilst writing that fourth book of the *Generall Historie* he does not hesitate to criticize as an expert the failings of his successors in Virginia. But he does it not in any vindictive manner, yet as an expert with a view to the greater good and not without personal diffidence. Take the following as an instance, when he concludes his opinion : "I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other mens actions being not present, but they haue done as much of me ; yea many here in England that were never there, and also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed : and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion."

In this same year, too, he begged the Virginia Company in London most earnestly to permit him go out thither and make good the bad results of that massacre of March 22, 1622. "If you please," he petitioned,

"I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next Michaelmas, with victuall, munition, and such necessary prouision ; by Gods assistance, we would endeavour to inforce the Saluages to leaue their Country, or bring them in that feare and subiection that euery man should follow their busynesse securely." He was all afire again to go forth, but whilst most of the Company were in favour of the project others could think only of the cost ; so yet again he had to drink the dregs of bitter failure.

This unfortunate massacre was followed in June, 1624, after mismanagement, by the bankruptcy of the London Virginia Company so that the King recalled their commission. Smith was about to send most of his book to the press at any rate by March 24, 1624, and there is reason to suppose that after the above *débâcle* this *Generall Historie* was rushed through the printers, so as to check the ill-effects which bad news might have on England's future colonization. The book was entered at Stationers' Hall on July 12 of that year, and thus Smith was able to render by his authorship more than ordinary assistance to stem a terrible ebb. With his dedication in the first volume to the Duchess of Richmond, who in answer to his prospectus had contributed handsomely, he is able to add the proud assurance that "I am no Compiler by hearsay, but haue beeene a reall Actor."

And before we pass on to his other writings we must stop a moment to note how closely he was associated with the colonizing of North America under quite different auspices. Indirectly he was the cause of that party of 74 English Nonconformists and 28 women of John Robinson's church at Leyden sailing in the "Mayflower" on September 6, 1620, from Plymouth. For after Smith had circulated seven thousand of his books and maps, "At last," he writes, "upon these inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are termed,

with some Gentlemen and Merchants of Layden and Amsterdam, to save charges, would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie till time had taught them to see their owne error ; for such humorists will never beleeve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod." The Brownists were a sect founded by Robert Browne, who died in 1633. And Smith with all his expert knowledge was willing to act in command of this emigrating party, whose services were declined perhaps not wholly in order "to save charges" but because Smith was a staunch member of the Church of England and (as we know from his *Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters*) believed in her "prime authority," hated factions and idealized unity in matters of religion as much as he admired the oneness of the Turkish Empire at that time. The "Mayflower" Pilgrim Fathers who went out and founded New Plymouth, who were the shock troops in the rebellion against the English Bishops, would never have consented to place themselves under the leadership of one who so heartily believed in sound ecclesiastical rule.

Smith was naturally a little hurt that these and others should have availed themselves of his labours whilst spurning his personal assistance, and with his lack of sympathy towards narrow Puritanism this feeling was increased. He says in his *Advertisements* : " Now since them called Brownists went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps) . . . they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority."

The result of all his writing, travelling and canvassing in England was that vessels were going out from Plymouth to fish, and that an historical party of unhappy

dissenters seeking a new land chose part of this very area which Smith had so ardently advocated. In that year 1620 already about half a dozen West Country vessels had gone across to New England waters but solely for the purpose of fishing. Without mentioning her name Smith gives us the information that the "Mayflower" which had been provided by "some well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places," was of 160 tons, and that she sighted Cape Cod on November 9 having, as stated, left Plymouth on September 6. The next few weeks the passengers were compelled to endure leaky cabins ; and then "for want of experience," he remarks with the criticism of one who knows and could have guided them better, "ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on."

Similarly, when in 1629 the Puritans sailed from England to found the Massachusetts Bay colony, he writes with interest that same year : "Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke [i.e. got together a large capital], and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May, they set saile from Thames, for the Bay of Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River" ; and these six were the "George Bonaventure," "Talbot," "Lion's Whelp," "Mayflower," "Four Sisters," and "Pilgrim," with men, women, children, cattle, horses, goats and so on. It was the practical proof that his exploring and writing were just and advantageous. There can have been few things more comforting, just two years before his death, than this knowledge of how his great work was already showing the first fruits, even if for him it was forbidden to gather thereof.

In 1626 appeared that classic entitled *An Accidence ; or, The Pathway to Experience*. Of this there are two

versions. The first was reissued in 1627 and 1636. The second version appeared in 1653, 1691 and 1692. Thus the two ran for some time side by side, and the fact that there was a demand for these six books in less than seventy years shows the great interest that was now taken during the later seventeenth century on the subject. Actually it was a tract on seafaring, an elementary primer to inform the young sea-struck mind. A modern author would have entitled it "All About Seafaring." In his dedications Smith mentions that "many young Gentlemen and Valiant spirits of all sorts, do desire to try their Fortunes at sea"; and it was owing to his friend, Sir Samuel Saltonstall of London, that he was persuaded to write this brief discourse, "not as instruction to Marriners nor Sailors. . . . But as an introduction for such as wants experience, and are desirous to learne what belongs to a Seaman."

At the back of Smith's mind was still the ardour for plantation; and since ships and sailors were few but the essential means for colonization, therefore he felt the urge to do what he could towards encouraging the seaman's art. Smith speaks of this as "a subject I never see writ before," but actually Sir Henry Mainwaring's *The Seaman's Dictionary or Nomenclator Navalis*, though not printed till 1644, was indeed written about the year 1622.¹ If therefore the *Accidence* was the first book on seamanship to be printed, it was not quite the first to be written. Already William Bourne had published in 1573 his *Regiment for the Sea*, which was the first work on navigation ever written by an Englishman. It is not true, as some modern critics have remarked, that Smith's tract was the first to deal also with naval gunnery. William Bourne in the year 1587 had published *The Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance*. John

¹ See *The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, vol. ii., by G. E. Mainwaring and W. G. Perron, London, 1922.

Davis, the Arctic explorer, in 1594 published *The Seaman's Secrets*, which became very popular and took the place of the Spanish Martin Cortes' handbook which had been used by Englishmen in a translation. There had been other foreigners, such as Alonso de Chavez, Hieronymo de Chavez, Roderigo Zamorano who had also written works on the seaman's art ; therefore we must not claim for Smith's little book more than rightly belongs.

On the other hand certain modern writers have expressed surprise that Captain John Smith, the soldier, should have written on a subject of nautical interest. To me this is in no wise startling. Nominally and by experience Smith was a land warrior, but in those days the senior officer of a ship which went exploring, or on an expedition, was a Captain who not necessarily had been a sailor. Under him immediately were the Master and Mate whose duties were to see that the ship was kept on the course given and supervise the general seamanship, such as the trimming of the braces and sheets, the setting and furling of sails, anchoring and so on. The pilot was the navigating officer and expert in charts, the use of the astrolabe and cross-staff. But supreme in the ship, and especially when she had to go into action, was the Captain. Even if he had come on board as ignorant of the sea as most military men, yet it was not long before he had picked up a good working knowledge of ship-handling : every subsequent voyage made him still more familiar with this hidden art.

But Smith was in a category different from most other captains in that from his boyhood's days he had been using the sea in so many vessels and such different waters. He had been shipwrecked, he had sailed the North Sea and English Channel, all round the Mediterranean before reaching a military captain's rank. He had sailed across to Africa and even farther south,

he had been in both Adriatic and Atlantic naval engagements, he had voyaged to Virginia and back, to New England and back, to the Azores, been in more sea-fighting and directed privateers' engagements ; he had come north again to La Rochelle and once again sailed to Plymouth. But, apart from all this big-ship voyaging, he had, in spite of the lack of professional seamen's assistance, done some capital small-craft cruising all over the Chesapeake Bay district and, at a later date, in another small boat up and down the New England coast surveying. And the fact that he had brought his men and vessel through bad weather safely gave evidence of his fine practical ability quite apart from his endowment as a leader of men.

Smith therefore was not merely a soldier but a very fine sailor. He was a man of parts, as capable an administrator as he was powerful pleader for plantations. His *Accidence*, written anyhow in an informal style, with little regard to arrangement, from the depths of his knowledge gained by experience, is so full of detail and so suggestive of sea life that we can almost hear the sounds and sense the smells of shipboard. It has to be read in the spirit with which it was written, and, although Smith gives a short list of works by other nautical writers which he recommends for study, yet he cannot forget that school in which he himself learned. "Get some of those bookees," he advises the young seaman, "but practise is the best." And there can be no doubt but that Smith, the soldier, was a much abler sailor than most of his contemporaries, who had never done one-tenth of his seafaring.

In was in 1625 that there appeared in Purchas' *Pilgrimes* a condensed account of Smith's travels in Europe, and in the Appendix we have dealt with the source of this information. Five years later Smith published this narrative in full under the title *The True*

Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629. A copy of this book in the British Museum, bearing the date at London of 1630, was entered at Stationers' Hall on August 29, 1629. Smith's travels continue down to 1604, and the *Observations*, consisting chiefly of his compilation, carry on till 1629.

The last book that he completed was *Adverisements For the unexperienced Planters of New-England . . .* It was written "in the house of that worthy Knight Sir Humphrey Mildmay, so remarkable in Essex in the Parish of Danbery" during October 1630 and was published in the year following, accompanied by the map of Virginia which had been engraved in 1614 and had appeared in some of his other works. In this final volume there are hints of his impending decease. It is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and there is in the preface to the reader a little dig at those ignorant adventurers "that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse." He is still feeling that life has treated him a little hardly, and in a prefatory poem compares himself with a sea-mark, to warn others from disaster.

" If in or outward you be bound
 doe not forget to sound
Neglect of that was cause of this
 to steare amisse."

So, that others may profit by his experience, he writes on such matters as the proper kind of people for starting a plantation—no "Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists" or other factious persons were suitable. He points out the mistakes which were made in his early Virginia days, the careless government and so on ; he tells about New England, its coast, harbours, habitations, and adds a number of tips likely to aid those

going across the Atlantic on colonizing intent. And yet, in spite of the way he had been treated, in spite of all the money and toil he had expended without recompense he was able to say : " So the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Countrymen, I have my desire." He was thinking of his beloved children, Virginia and New England, right till the end.

He was planning a further work, which was to be a *History of the Sea*, and we know how interesting, clear, picturesque and virile he would have made that subject. But he was taken ill, his tired, overworked mind and body had already done the labour of several men ; the time had come when this full career could not again evade death. On June 21, 1631, then living in the parish of St. Sepulchre, London, Captain John Smith, Esquiour made his will, bequeathed his Lincolnshire estate, left sums of money to Sir Samuel Saltonstall, and to certain relatives and friends, and the same day died. He was buried in the choir of St. Sepulchre's and over his tomb were reproduced those well-won arms and his motto *Vincere est vivere. Accordamus.* The church was one of those unfortunately destroyed in the Great Fire of London thirty-five years later.

John Smith was only fifty-one when he passed into the greatest of all adventures, and there can be little doubt but that all the intensive existence of half a century had already overtaxed his vigour. He who had been left on the field of battle as dead, to become a Turkish slave ; an American Indian's captive, tied to a tree and condemned to be shot, led up and down the country as some strange wonder, and then again sentenced to death ; he who had saved Jamestown over and over again from starvation, who was plotted against, who discovered bays and rivers, narrowly escaped death by poisoning, was blown up by gunpowder, quelled mutinies, kept the

Indians in control, fought with pirates, barely escaped through a gale of wind in a sinking boat ; finally, he who by his writing, and maps, and persuasions did even more for North America than if his stay had been prolonged on that continent—has left behind not merely a romantic interest that must ever be associated with Virginia and New England, but a record of great achievement in regard to both colonies.

One has no desire to picture him as a saint. That his conduct was not always above reproach, that he was too impetuous, too full of personality to work with others less gifted with energy cannot be gainsaid ; but even his severest critics admit that he was indefatigable in his service to the Virginia colony. It was Neill who set him down as "a quick-witted, unscrupulous, and self-reliant man" ; and Alexander Brown who doubted if Smith ever drew his maps, suggesting that he copied them from some drawing. Even if that were true, it would not invalidate the claim for Smith as an untiring explorer who was the first White Man to discover the bays, rivers and creeks around Chesapeake.

In regard to the family of Saltonstall it is interesting to note its connection with Smith and colonization. It was Sir Samuel Saltonstall, "my worthy friend," whose beneficence caused Smith's *Accidence* or "Sea Grammar" to be printed, and it would appear from the wording of the traveller's will that he died in the house of this knight, who was made joint executor. It was his son, Captain Charles Saltonstall, who is mentioned by Smith in that second part of *The True Travels* which is a compilation of various narrations. The reference here is to the proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christopher in the West Indies. To this day the Saltonstalls of Boston are known as descendants of that family of early New England pioneers with whom John Smith was acquainted. It was Wye Saltonstall who

translated Hondius' *Historia Mundi* and gave it to the world in the year 1635.

Thus the last years of Smith's life included not merely a rehabilitation of his former repute (as is proved by the fact that the London Virginia Company both asked his advice on colonial matters and desired him to write his *Generall Historie*) but the close friendship of gentlemen interested in colonial expansion.



APPENDIX

“THE TRUE TRAVELS”



ROUND Smith's account of his travels and adventures in Eastern Europe has grown up criticism whose vehemence has been rivalled only in regard to the credibility of the Pocahontas incident. That Smith's experiences in Transylvania were remarkable is not to say that they are unauthentic. If this relation of unusual events is untrue, or wildly exaggerated, then Smith stands as a liar and a braggart. If, on the other hand, the account is generally correct, it does not surprise us vastly that a young man who went to the Continent looking for excitement was able to find it. The case may be presented as follows.

A certain Francisco Farnese (a learned Italian historian who was secretary to Sigismund Bathori, the Transylvanian prince) wrote in his contemporary book dealing with the wars of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia an account of the incidents in which Smith figured. Purchas, who was personally acquainted with Smith, was in possession of the manuscript, or a copy of it by the year 1624, and included in the 1625 edition of his *Pilgrimes* some “Extracts of Captain Smith’s Transyluanian Acts, out of Fr. Fer. his storie.” This account Smith states (in chapter xi of *The True Travels*) was “translated by Master Purchas” from Francisco Ferneza. The latter’s book was translated also into Spanish.

In August 1629 Smith entered for publication at Stationers’ Hall *The True Travels*, wherein most of what was contained concerning his Hungarian and Transylvanian experiences was nothing but largely a reprint of Purchas, and therefore of Farnese. Thus they form an impersonal account written not by a man who seeks his own laudation but by an Italian who, from his official position,

knew all the facts. It is impossible to dismiss them as fiction or just an exciting yarn, even when Smith has extended the already printed account to include other ventures.

In the epistle dedicatory Smith addresses himself to three peers, of whom one is Robert, Earl of Lindsey, Great Chamberlain of England. Now this was a friend of his boyhood days, who as Robert Bertie had become Lord Willoughby D'Eresby in 1601, whom also Smith had met again in Italy after the former had been wounded in an affray. In 1625 Lord Willoughby had been created Earl of Lindsey. The question at once arises : Is it likely that Smith, whose father had leased the farm from the earl's father, would invent and dedicate a pack of lies to one whom he had known so many years ? It was Sir Robert Cotton, who, having read *The Generall Historie* and other of Smith's writings, "requested me to fix the whole course of my passages" through other parts of the world "in a booke by it selfe." And this was the result. Sir Robert Cotton (who died in the same year as Smith) was that celebrated antiquary whose magnificent library to-day forms one of the most important features of the British Museum. Cotton's house was the resort of seventeenth-century intellectuals. It was full of books, manuscripts and other treasures, and their owner was too learned as a scholar not to know the difference between fact and fake. Can we suppose that Smith would be likely to foist on to this "most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie" a romantic but untruthful story of himself ? In the same letter of dedication Smith mentions the name of his friend, Sir Samuel Saltonstall. Would Smith wish to impress him with a series of falsehoods ?

Sigismund Bathori presented Smith in 1602 with "three Turkes heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours." This patent in 1625—that is to say the year after Smith had published his *Generall Historie* and was at age forty-five held in respect by distinguished people—was officially witnessed and approved by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, and recorded in the register of heraldry on August 19. Would Segar have done this if he thought by such procedure he was helping to propagate a literary fabrication ? Would not he, like Cotton, Lindsey, Saltonstall, Purchas and many another acquaintance, be likely to know whether Smith's *Travels* were just a clever fraud ?

"Many of the most eminent Warriers, and others," Smith wrote in the dedication, "what their swords did, their penns writ. Though I bee never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great error, to follow good examples." And in his preceding book *An Accidence* he remarks : "As both Europe, Asia, Africa and America can partly witnesse, if all their extremities hath taught me any thing, I haue not kept it for my owne particular. I know well I am blamed for not concealing that, that time and occasion hath taught mee to reueale ; as at large you may read in the life of Sigismundus Bathori, Prince of Transiluania, writ by his Secretary Francisco Fernezsa."

"We know enough of London society in the year 1629," wrote Professor Arber in his introduction to Smith's works, "and of the Episcopal censorship of the English press at that time, to be quite sure that no man would have dared to offer to Sir Robert Cotton and those three Earls as *true travels* a deliberately made-up story of adventures which never happened. This alone is sufficient to show that these *true travels* is an honestly written narrative of personal experiences."

But, supposing they are not, how was it that Smith named a headland in Virginia "Point Ployer," or that promontory "Cape Tragbigzanda," or those three islands, off there, "Three Turks Heads"? And this, you will remember, was done in 1614. Why did Sergeant Robinson testify to Smith who "hast my Captaine beene in the fierce wars of Transiluania" if Smith were never there? If this was all a misrepresentation, why did Smith's friends allow his arms and epitaph to appear on his tomb in St. Sepulchre's church with the inscription?—

" Shall I report his former service done
In honour of his God and Christendome :
How that he did divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry :
For which great service in that Climate done,
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads got by his Sword and Speare."

To me the evidence seems conclusive in its accumulation. There are certainly inaccuracies as to detail and times. Alexander Brown points out that, where Smith refers to Georgio Busca, this

celebrated Albanian General should be George Basti ; and that Zachel Moses is properly Moses Tzekely ; but surely these are small points. Nor does the fact that at the time when Smith claimed to have killed Turks the latter were Sigismund's allies weaken the story as a whole. Smith was not an accurate historian, but the general truth of his extraordinary adventures is, in the essentials, well supported.

Alexander Brown assails "the vain character of Smith," but was Smith more than reasonably and justifiably proud of his own amazing experiences ? It is true that occasionally Smith "takes events of several years and bunches them all together, or an event of one year and assigns it to another year" ; but we must remember that Smith wrote concerning his early travels only many years after the events, when his memory had been further stored with remarkable incidents in other parts of the world. There is in the very first page of *The True Travels* an obvious mistake, where Smith says that his parents died when he was "about thirteene yeeres of age." Seeing that he was baptized in January 1580 and his father was buried in April 1596, the lad was certainly sixteen : and throughout his writings there are various notable inaccuracies as to dates, for like many other people Smith had no genius for figures. Thus, he gives both July 22 and September 10, 1608, as the date when Ratcliffe was deposed ; and there are other slips.

But that in an unscientific age a man of action and adventure should, relying on his memory, presently find his recollection a little blurred is natural enough : only a very prejudiced critic would infer that therefore Smith was a deliberate liar. If one looks back twenty years on certain incidents which stand out in one's own life, how easy it is to err when it comes to a matter of exact date. So it was with Smith after living through a period so closely packed with breathless events ; and even Alexander Brown is compelled to add ". . . However, I do not attribute all of his errors to selfish motives."

"The world has been searching for data regarding him for two hundred years," wrote the same keen critic, "but has found little beside what he tells us in his own works." And, provided these are read with understanding and available knowledge of the circumstances, we are not likely to find a few discrepancies fatal to the story's validity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

SMITH'S OWN WRITINGS

THE reader is referred to the body of the text for discussion as to the books which Smith completed, but it will be convenient here to collect them into the chronological order in which they appeared.

A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony . . . is the earliest printed account of the Jamestown plantation, written before June 2, 1608. It was sent home by Smith not for publication, but as a private account of the proceedings since leaving England. It fell into the hands of one whose initials are "I. H." "who thought good to publish it." It was entered at Stationers' Hall on August 13 of that same year, so no time was wasted. There are three copies in the British Museum. On the title-page there is a three-masted ship with topsails on fore and main. There is also reproduced Smith's map of Virginia showing the Chesapeake district : but some copies have suffered at the edges by having the latitude and longitude measurements cut. Two points are to be noted concerning this first volume : it was supposed to have been written (a) "by a Gentleman of the said Collony to a worshipfull friend of his in England," it was (b) next ascribed to "Th. Watson. Gent," and not till 1615 was it (c) admittedly "written by Captain Smith." And, secondly, there is no mention of the Pocahontas rescue incident—probably because it was not desirable that the matter should be discussed in England and misunderstood.

A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Covntrey. . . . Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governoour of the Country with "relations of divers other diligent observers there present then, and now many of them in England," taken faithfully from their writings by the Rev. Dr. W. Simmonds, was printed not in London but at Oxford in 1612, possibly in order to prevent the influence of the London Virginia Company from preventing its appearance. It contains also Smith's map of Virginia mentioned above, but the date of the engraving (by William Hole) is given now inaccurately as 1606. It has been erroneously stated

by some of Smith's modern critics that he merely copied this map from previous "plots" made by Gosnold and others. It is difficult to see how this could have been done, inasmuch as Smith was the first White Man to have penetrated into bays, rivers, creeks and many Indian villages of the Chesapeake district. This publication, as to its first part, was a revised and fuller expression of his official *Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them*, sent to the London Virginia Company in the autumn of 1608. An abridged version of *A Map of Virginia* appeared during 1625 in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*.

A Description of New England was for the most part written whilst a prisoner on board a French privateer, "to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation," in the autumn of 1615. This manuscript went with him during his narrow escape from drowning when he came ashore at the Charente that dark night of the gale. It was afterwards completed, the account was entered at Stationers' Hall on June 3, 1616, and the printing finished fifteen days later. In some copies there is found an additional page beginning "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new." There follows in parallel columns the names of the places as Smith had marked them, and those which the boy Prince preferred. This book was of such European interest that it was afterwards translated in Frankfurt and abridged in Leyden.

New Englands Trials was in the main written by Smith not later than 1618. It was printed in 1620, two or three thousand copies being issued, one thousand with maps of Virginia and New England. There is a first and rare edition of this in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In the British Museum there is a copy dated 1620. A second and enlarged edition appeared in 1622, having been made ready for the press by October. The departure of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the reinforcements to follow, had created a demand for the printed information that Smith was so anxious to supply.

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles had been contemplated ever since April, 1621. It was hurried through the press at the last, being entered for publication at Stationers' Hall on July 12, 1624, to check public feeling over the collapse of the London Virginia Company. In this important work Smith quite rightly and properly gives the full account of the Pocahontas incident: for he is now deliberately writing history with the approval and encouragement of the London Company. It is a considered account after some sixteen years,

and there is every justification for giving a more perfect rendering of the escape. In the Granville Library of the British Museum there is a very fine copy of this volume dated 1624. The title-page with its much reduced map of Virginia (Old and New) and New England, its medallions of Elizabeth, James I and Prince Charles ; the indication of ships wrecked in the Hatteras region ; and other details convey to the reader the impressive importance of this book. Inside it has the well-known maps of "Ould" and New Virginia, as well of New England containing Smith's portrait. There is also reproduced the Rolfe portrait of Pocahontas, though not in the original edition. The success of this volume may be noted by the fact that further editions were produced in 1626, 1627 and 1632. The last mentioned was, of course, in the year following Smith's death.

In 1626 was printed *An Accidence or The Path-way to Experience*, which we have already discussed. Two copies of these are to be seen in the British Museum. A year later came the edition entitled *The Seaman's Grammar*, of which the Bodleian possesses a copy. Five years after Smith's death *An Accidence for the Sea*, was recast and reissued with a preface by another hand. In 1652 a re-arranged and much increased volume entitled *The Sea-Man's Grammar* and now divided into chapters was published, further editions following in 1691 and subsequent year. The fact of the increasing popularity of the sea as a profession, the growth of Western colonization and the prosperity of the East India Company had created a demand for knowledge of seafaring duties.

The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith appeared in 1630, five years after their substance had appeared in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*. Their interest caused them to be republished during that and the succeeding century in Dutch and English collections of voyages. The 1630 impression may be seen in the Granville Library copy in the British Museum, which contains the well-known New England map and portrait of Smith, together with his coat of arms and various illustrations depicting those exciting incidents in Eastern Europe. The authenticity of these travels has been discussed on previous pages.

Advertisements For the unexperienced Planters of New-England, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, was printed at London in 1631, and for two hundred years was never reissued until the Massachusetts Historical Society printed it again. Smith's circular or prospectus for his *Generall Historie of Virginia* has been reproduced in facsimile from the only known copy, with notes by Luther S. Livingston. It was published at Cambridge in 1914. Other editions of Smith's works have been

published in England and America, notably in "The English Scholar's Library" in 1884. Edward Arber's two-volume collection still remains the best that has been attempted. In 1910 a new edition of this with an introduction by A. G. Bradley was published in Edinburgh, to which I acknowledge my indebtedness. Three years previously appeared at Glasgow the MacLehose edition of *The Generall Historie, True Travels and Sea Grammar*.

II

SMITH'S BIOGRAPHERS AND CRITICS

It was Charles Deane in his *Notes on Wingfield's Discourse of America* (Boston, 1859) and in his introduction and notes to *A True Relation* (Boston, 1866), who started the line of criticism adverse to Smith. Edward Duffield Neill in his *Virginia Company in London* (1869) and his *English Colonization of America* (1871); Charles Dudley Warner in his *Study of the Life and Writings of John Smith* (New York, 1881); Coit Tyler in his *History of American Literature* (1879); J. A. Doyle in his *English in America* (1881-2); Alexander Brown in *The Genesis of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1890) have all been highly sceptical. On the other hand, William Wirt Henry (see *Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society Proceedings*, 1882, published at Richmond, Virginia) strongly defended him; as did J. Poindexter in his *Captain John Smith and his Critics* (1893); Professor Arber in his various writings about Smith; and A. G. Bradley in his life of *Captain John Smith* (1905).

Among the modern biographies and other publications may be mentioned C. K. True's monograph (1882); *The True Story of Captain John Smith*, by K. P. Woods (1901); E. P. Roberts' *The Adventures of Captain John Smith* (1902), E. Boyd Smith's *The Story of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith* (1905), A. L. Haydon's *Captain John Smith* (1907), and Rossiter Johnson's *Captain John Smith* (1915). In 1905 appeared a fresh edition of *The True Travels* edited by A. J. Philip, and another edition three years later under the editorship of E. A. Benians. Such volumes as John Carter Brown's *New England's Trials* (1867); Alexander Brown's *New Views of Early Virginia History* (1886); and J. R. Bartlett's *Bibliotheca Americana* may be studied with profit.

In the Library of the Congress, Washington D.C.; among the Harleian MS. in the British Museum; the State Papers, Colonial, and State

Papers, Domestic, at the Public Records Office, London ; and in the Lambeth Palace Library will be found original and contemporary documents illustrating the life of Smith and the Virginia Company. Professor Arber by including these in his introduction to Smith's *Travels and Works* rendered a great service to future readers, for which all modern writers owe a debt.



INDEX

<p>ABBOT, J., 209. Accowmack, 162. Accominticus, 255. Actium, Battle of, 35. Adam, a Dutchman, 201, 230. Africa, 21, 23, 26, 34, 35, 73, 79, 83, 87, 113, 181, 244, 256, 264, 272. Alba Regalis (<i>see</i> Stuhlweissenberg). Albemarle Sound, 176, 196. Alexandretta (Scanderoon), 35. Alexandria, 35. Alford, 12. Algiers, 26, 244. Algonquin, 161. Alikock, J., 136. Amadas, Captain P., 176, 177, 183. Amazon, River, 108. Ann, Cape, 62, 241. Anne, Queen, 146, 253. Antibes, 37, 38. Apocant, 133, 135. Appamatuck, 114, 194. Arber, Professor E., 147, 272, 277. Archer, Captain G., 98, 108, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 126, 132, 150, 155, 222, 223, 225, 227. Argal, Captain S., 220, 221. Arjish, 55. Arles, 30. Armada, Spanish, 1, 6, 79, 85. Astrakhan, 67. Austria, 6, 27. Azores, 6, 7, 122, 180, 220, 236, 237, 245, 248, 249, 265.</p>	<p>Baker, D., 245. Barbados, 8. Barlow, Captain A., 176. Barnstaple, 256. Barrow, Captain, 248, 249. Baskerfield, 59. Basti, G. (<i>Busca, G.</i>), 44, 46, 54, 272. Bathori, Sigismund, 46, 47, 52, 70, 71, 270, 271, 272, 273. Bayonne, 30. Beadle, G., 186. Bermuda, 232, 233. Bermudas, 223, 232, 234. Bertie, the Hon. Peregrine, second son of Lord Willoughby (<i>see</i> Lindsey). Bertie, the Hon. Robert, elder son of Lord Willoughby (<i>see</i> Lindsey). Béziers, 30. Bishop, T., 60. Black Sea, 61, 64, 66. Blackwall, 97, 98, 103, 112, 121, 155. "Blessing," 223, 224. Bodmin, 256. Bojador, Cape, 3, 75. Bordeaux, 30, 251. Boston, 144, 255, 268. Bourne, William, 263. Bradley, A. G., 142, 146, 277. Brazils, 5, 87. Brinton, E., 201. Bristol, 92, 175, 237, 248, 249, 256. Brookes, Edward, 106. Brookes, John, 115. Brown, Alexander, 268, 272, 273. Brownists, 261, 266. Bruster, W., 136. Budapest, 46. Buley, J., 239.</p>
--	---

Burgundy, Duke of, 5.
 Burrowes, Anne, 174, 175.
 Busca, G. (*see* Basti, G.).

CABOT, G., 175.
 Cabot, Sebastian, 5.
 Cadiz, 13, 72.
 Caen, 29.
 Calicut, 4.
 Callamata, The Lady, 68, 142, 251.
 Callicut, William, 185.
 Cambia, 63, 64, 71.
 Canada, 168.
 Canary Islands, 7, 74, 75, 78, 86, 103,
 105, 176, 177, 220, 223.
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 127, 266.
 Cape Cod, 94.
 Carcassonne, 30.
 Carleton, Dudley, 122, 160, 187.
 Carlton, South, 13.
 Carlton, Ensign T., 9, 60.
 Caspian Sea, 61, 66, 67.
 Cassen, 135, 144.
 Caudébec, 29.
 Cavendish, Thomas, 177.
 Cephalonia, 35.
 Ceuta, 73.
 Chamberlain, John, 122, 160, 187.
 Chanoyes, Madame, 251.
 Charente, River, 250.
 Charles, Cape, 112, 161, 191, 233,
 238.
 Charles, Duke of York, afterwards
 Charles I, King of England, 112,
 240-1, 255, 276.
 Charles, River (*see* Massachusetts,
 River), 241, 255, 262.
 Charles V, 6.
 Charleton Magne, 12.
 Chavez, de, A. and H., 264.
 Chawonock, 178, 195, 196, 220.
 Chesapeake, 107, 108, 111, 112, 117,
 132, 141, 160, 162, 164, 167, 168,
 170, 177, 183, 195, 235, 265.
 Chickahominy, 132, 133, 137, 186.
 Chowan, 196 (note).
 Civita Vecchia, 38.
 Clement VIII, Pope, 38.
 Clovell, E., 120, 136.
 Cod, Cape, 237, 238, 241, 262.

Coe, 227.
 Collier, S., 196.
 Collson, J., 115.
 Columbus, Christopher, 4, 5, 8, 14,
 67, 84, 103, 105, 106.
 Comfort, Point, 112, 113, 116, 154,
 165, 167, 169, 216, 230.
 Compton, F., 60.
 "Concord," 94.
 Constantinople, 25, 61, 64.
 Corfu, 35.
 Cornelius, Master, 220.
 Coronel, Battle of, 183.
 Cortes, M., 264.
 Cotton, Sir Robert, 271, 272.
 Crampton, 251.
 Crete, 35.
 Croatan, 176, 177, 182.
 Crudley, 11.
 Crusaders, 14.
 Crusades, 24, 54.
 Cuba, 4, 84.
 Cursell, 29, 30.
 Curzianvere, 28, 29.
 Cuttyhunk Island, 94.
 Cyapock, River, 87.
 Cyprus, 35.

DALE, Sir T., 222.
 Danbery, 266.
 Dare, Ananias (or Anas), 180.
 Dare, Eleanor, 180.
 Dare, Virginia, 180.
 "Dartmouth," 94.
 Dartmouth, 182, 236, 237, 248,
 256.
 Davis, John, 264.
 Davison, G., 60.
 Deane, Charles, 127, 144, 145, 146,
 277.
 De la Warr, Baron, 221, 222, 225,
 233, 257.
 "Deliverance," 232.
 Deptford-on-Thames, 5.
 "Diamond," 223, 224.
 Diaz, Bartholomew, 4.
 Dieppe, 17, 29.
 "Discovery," 99, 195.
 Dominica, 4, 84, 103, 177.
 Dover, 17.

Drake, Sir Francis, 4, 13, 32, 72, 89, 90, 93, 178.
 Drury, Robert, 139.
 Duxbury, Captain J., 16.
 Dyer, William, 216, 227.

EAST INDIES, 14, 21.
 Ebersbaught, Lord, 39, 41, 42, 43.
 Eden, Richard, 88, 89, 94.
 Edinburgh, 16, 18.
 Edward VI, 5.
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, 6, 7, 33, 79, 81, 84, 90, 176, 276.
 Elizabeth River, 171.
 Emry, T., 133, 135, 136, 138, 144, 150.
 Enkhuizen, 17.
 Erasmus, 15.
 Exe, 237.
 Exeter, 92, 242, 248, 256.
 Exmouth, 94.

"FALCON," 223, 224.
 Falls (James, River), 116, 117, 216, 226, 229.
 Falmouth, 93, 223.
 Farnese, Francisco, 270, 272.
 Fayal, Azores, 245.
 Fear, Cape, 177, 179, 183.
 Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, 39, 44, 46.
 Ferdinando, Simon, 179.
 Fetherstone, Richard, 169.
 Fitch, M., 115, 121.
 Flanders, Count of, 5.
 Florida, 89, 90, 107, 176, 177.
 Forest, Mistress, 174.
 "Four Sisters," 262.
 Fowey, 256.
 Francis, a Dutchman, 201, 212, 213, 230.
 Frankfurt, 275.
 Fugger family, 84.
 Fuller T., 144.

GAMA, Vasco da, 4.
 Gambia, River, 4.
 Gates, Sir T., 222, 225, 231, 257.
 "George Bonaventure," 262.
 George, Sir F., 242.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 89, 175.
 "God Speed," 99.
 Good Hope, Cape of, 4, 67.
 Gosnold, A., 206.
 Gosnold, Captain B., 91, 93, 94, 98, 99, 109, 115, 121, 122, 124, 126, 151, 177, 178, 182, 220, 236, 237, 275.
 Gosnold's Bay, 169.
 Gravesend, 144.
 Graz, 39, 41.
 Grenville, Sir R., 90, 177, 178, 179, 184.
 Grualgo, 49, 50.
 Guadeloupe, 103.
 Guevara, Antonio de, 19.
 Guiana, 87.
 Guingamp, 30.

HAITI, 4, 5, 84, 87, 106.
 Hakluyt, Rev. R., 85, 237.
 "Half Moon," 191.
 Hamor, Captain R., 145, 146.
 Hampton (Virginia), 161.
 Hardwicke, 60.
 Haryot, T., 177, 178, 179, 183.
 Hatteras, Cape, 179.
 Havre, 16.
 Hawkins, Sir John, 6.
 Henry, Cape, 112, 122, 155, 183, 191, 233.
 Henry VII, King of England, 175.
 Henry VIII, King of England, 76.
 Henry of Navarre, 7, 8, 30.
 Henry, Prince of Wales, 112, 115.
 Henry, Prince, the Navigator, 21.
 Herbert, Lord of Cherbury, 17.
 Hermanstadt, 68.
 Hispaniola, 1, 5, 8, 84, 106.
 Hogs' Island, 215, 232.
 Hole, William, 274.
 Holy Island, 17.
 Holy Land, 24.
 Holy League, 8, 26, 30.
 Hondius, J., 269.
 Honfleur, 29.
 Hudson, Henry, 191.
 Hudson River, 191.
 Huguenots, 7, 32, 33.
 Hume, David, 16, 18, 27.

Hungary, 25, 27, 43, 44.
 Hunt, Rev. R., 98, 102, 103, 127,
 151, 153.
 Hunt, T., 242.
 "I. H.", 143, 275.
 Ireland, 86.
 Isabel of Castile, 6.

JAMES, Cape, 241 (*see* Cape Cod).
 James I, King of England, 7, 34, 80,
 81, 86, 112, 118, 146, 237, 244,
 253, 276.
 James, River, 112, 113, 115, 119,
 129, 130, 154, 155, 157, 158, 166,
 170, 171, 172, 185, 194, 195, 212,
 216, 221, 233.
 Jamestown, 122, 136, 149, 158.
 Jamestown, 111, 114, 115, 116, 119,
 121, 122, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132,
 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144,
 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157,
 159, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169,
 170, 171, 174, 175, 182, 183, 184,
 185, 186, 190, 192, 193, 194, 200,
 201, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214,
 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228,
 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 259.
 Jeremy, 55, 56, 58.

KANIZSA, 41, 43, 44, 46.
 Kecoughtan, 129, 141, 161, 165, 167,
 196.
 Kendal, Captain G., 98, 109, 115,
 124, 131.
 Kingston-on-Hull, 5.
 Kisell, Baron, 39, 41, 42, 43.
 Kiskiack, 197.
 Komorn, 44, 45.
 Krim-Tartars, 56, 57, 58, 59.

LAMBALLE, 30.
 Lambeth, 178.
 Lambeth Palace, 121.
 Lampedusa, 35.
 Lancaster, Captain, 104.
 Lane, Sir R., 84, 177, 178, 179, 195.
 La Nelie, 29.
 Langam, Captain G., 239.
 Lannion, 30.

La Roche, Captain, 33, 34, 37, 38.
 La Rochelle, 30, 246, 250, 265.
 Laydon, J., 175.
 Leghorn, 38.
 Leigh (or Ley), Charles, 87.
 Leigh (or Ley), Sir O., 87.
 Leipzig, 69, 71.
 Lepanto, Battle of, 14, 25, 34, 35.
 Leyden, 260, 261, 275.
 Lincoln, Henry, Earl of, 21.
 Lindsey, Peregrine Bertie, Earl of,
 15, 38 (*see also* Willoughby,
 d'Eresby).
 Lindsey, Robert Bertie, Earl of, 38,
 271.
 "Lion," 223, 224.
 "Lion's Whelp," 262.
 Livingston, L. S., 276.
 London, 34, 91, 92, 93, 95, 101, 108,
 146, 160, 175, 189, 214, 241, 256,
 259, 260, 272, 274.
 Louth, 12.
 Lucknel, Count von, 104.
 Lynn, 13.

MACHIAVELLI, 20.
 Madagascar, 139.
 Madrid, 72.
 Magellan, 4.
 Magellan Straits, 249.
 Mainwaring, Sir H., 263.
 Mangoacks, 178, 220.
 Mannahoacks, 169.
 Manteo, 180.
 Manytch, River, 64.
 Marco Polo, 3.
 Marcus Aurelius, 19, 20.
 Marseilles, 30, 31, 32.
 Martha's Vineyard, 237.
 Martin, Captain J., 98, 109, 126, 132,
 150, 158, 168, 222, 225, 226, 229,
 230.
 Martin V, Pope, 3.
 Massachusetts Bay, 262.
 Massachusetts Historical Society,
 276.
 Massachusetts, River (*see* Charles,
 River), 24.
 Massawomekes, 164, 166, 167, 168.
 Matapan, Cape, 34.

Mathias, Archduke, 44.
 "Mayflower," 80, 260, 261, 262.
 Meldri (or Meldritch), Henry Volda,
 Earl of, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,
 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 70.
 Mercoeur, Duke de, 27, 44, 45,
 46.
 Merham, Captain, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78,
 79.
 Mexico, 178.
 Mildmay, Sir Humphrey, 266.
 Milemer, T., 60.
 Mogador, 78, 181.
 Mohacs, Battle of, 27.
 Moldavia, 54, 55, 56, 57, 70, 270.
 Monacans, 158.
 Monferrat, 29.
 Monson, Sir W., 13, 99, 187.
 Montpellier, 30.
 Mont St. Michel, 30.
 Montserrat, 103.
 Mortagne, 29.
 Morton, Matthew, 108.
 Moses, Z., 273.
 Moslems, 25, 26.
 Mulberry Point, 233.
 Mulgro, Bonny, 50, 51.
 Mullineux, Robert, 60.

NALBRITS, 63, 64.
 Nandsamunds, 170, 171, 193, 226.
 Nantes, 30, 32, 72.
 Narbonnes, 30, 32.
 Neill, E. D., 268, 277.
 Nelson, Captain F., 115, 151, 157,
 158, 160, 166.
 Netherlands, 6, 8, 26, 27.
 Nevis, Island of, 103, 105.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, 5.
 New England, 20, 83, 86, 91, 92, 94,
 182, 191, 234, 236, 241, 242, 245,
 254, 255, 256, 257, 262, 265, 266,
 267, 275.
 Newfoundland, 89, 128, 175, 217.
 New Plymouth, 261.
 Newport, Captain C., 91, 93, 95, 98,
 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111,
 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,
 122, 125, 126, 138, 150, 151, 152,
 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159,

166, 174, 175, 178, 184, 185, 186,
 187, 189, 190, 199, 221, 222.
 Nice, 31.
 Nimes, 30.
 Nonesuch (Powhatan village), 227.
 North, Sir Thomas, 19.
 Norumbega, 238.
 Nova Francia, 90.
 Nun, Cape, 3.
 Nuremberg, 46.

OBER LIMBACH, 41, 43, 52.
 Oltul, River (Aluta, Altus), 55, 58,
 70.
 Onawmament, 164.
 Opechancanough, 134, 202, 203, 204,
 207, 208, 209.
 Orapaks, 137.
 Orleans, 16, 72.
 Otranto, Cape, 35.
 Overbury, Sir T., 187.
 Oxford, 91, 142, 274, 275.

PAMPLICO SOUND, 176, 177, 181.
 Pamunkey (or Pamunk, or York),
 River, 140, 165, 184, 196, 201, 202,
 208, 215.
 Paris, 16, 72.
 Parsons, Father, 38.
 Paspahegh, 113, 114, 137, 141, 212,
 213.
 Patawomeck, River (*see* Potomac).
 "Patience," 232.
 Pau, 30.
 Percy, the Hon. G., 98, 103, 105,
 113, 115, 116, 118, 122, 147, 194,
 207, 216, 229.
 Phettiplace, M., 9, 154, 210.
 Phettiplace, W., 9, 143, 154, 195,
 209, 229.
 Philip II, 6, 8, 72.
 Philip III, 7.
 "Phoenix," 151, 157, 158, 159,
 160.
 "Pilgrim," 262.
 Pilgrim Fathers, 275 (*see also* "Mayflower").
 Pitesti, 55.
 Poyer, Earl of, 30, 33, 38, 162.
 Poyer Point, 162, 272.

Plymouth, 34, 92, 177, 221, 223, 237, 241, 242, 243, 251, 254, 260, 261, 262, 265.

Pocahontas, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 152, 159, 184, 207, 230, 251, 253, 270, 274, 275, 276.

Podolia, 56, 68.

Poitiers, 30.

Pont-Audemer, 29.

Pontorson, 29.

Poole, 249.

Popham, Sir F., 92.

Popham, Sir J., Lord Chief Justice, 92, 238.

Porto Rico, 106.

Portsmouth (England), 179.

Portsmouth (New Hampshire), 240, 255.

Portugal, King of, 3.

Potomac River (or Patawomeck), 140, 161, 164, 165, 167.

Pots, R., 143, 229.

Powell Islands, 168.

Powell, N., 220.

Powhatan (a locality), 227, 228.

Powhatan, River, 113, 114, 126, 132, 137.

Powhatan (The Great), 140, 141, 142, 144, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, 159, 162, 164, 184, 185, 190, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 206, 207, 208, 212, 213, 217, 218, 226, 229, 230,

Powhatan (The Less), 117, 118, 127, 202, 226.

Poyrune, Monsieur, 248, 249.

Pring, Captain M., 221.

Profit, James, 195.

Purchas, Rev. S., 78, 103, 116, 265, 270, 271, 275, 276.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, 13, 72, 80, 89, 90, 173, 175, 176, 177, 183, 184, 189, 196, 220, 257.

Rappahannock, River, 140, 169.

Ratecliffe (alias Sicklemore), Captain J., 98, 99, 107, 109, 124, 131, 132, 150, 153, 156, 158, 166, 172, 186, 190, 222, 224, 225, 227, 229, 230, 273.

Read, James, 132.

Rebecca (*see* Pocahontas).

Regal, 48, 52.

Ré, Ile de, 250.

Rennes, 30.

Retch, 55.

Rhodes, 35.

Richmond, Frances, Duchess of, 62.

Richmond (Virginia), 118, 228, 260.

Rimnik, Pass of, 55.

Roanoke Island, 90, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 220, 237.

Robinson, Jehu, 128, 133, 135, 136, 138, 144, 150.

Robinson, John, 260.

Robinson, Sergeant E., 9, 60, 272.

Rodol, Prince, 55, 56, 57.

Rolfe, John, Captain, 144, 146, 253.

Rome, 20, 38.

Rothenthurm, Battle of, 9, 39, 57, 58, 68, 69, 150.

Rouen, 16.

Royden, Captain M., 239.

Rudolph, Emperor, 27.

Russell, Dr. W., 165.

Russell, J., 186, 199, 202, 207.

Russells Isles, 162.

ST. BRIEUC, 30.

St. Christopher Island, 8, 103, 268.

St. Malo, 30, 33.

St. Mary, Island of, 31, 33.

St. Sepulchre's Church, London, 267, 272.

St. Valery-sur-Somme, 28, 30.

Saffee, 73, 78.

Sagres, 21.

Salisbury, Earl of, 229.

Saltash, 256.

Salterne R., 237.

Saltonstall, Captain C., 268.

Saltonstall, Sir S., 263, 267, 268, 271.

Saltonstall, Wye, 268.

San Lucas de Barrameda, 73.

Santa Cruz, 78.

Sasquesahanocks, 167.

Scandereroon (*see* Alexandretta).

Scrivener, M., 154, 156, 157, 158, 166, 172, 194, 195, 206, 210, 217.

"Sea-Venture," 222, 224, 232.

"Seeadler," 104.
 Segar, Sir W., 271.
 Selim II, 25.
 Sendall, T., 13.
 Sicklemore, Michael, 196, 220.
Sicklemore (see Ratcliffe).
 Sigismund Bathori (*see Bathori*).
 Simmonds, Rev. Dr. W., 91, 137, 142,
 209, 231, 235, 274.
 Skelton, W., 239.
 Smith, Alice, 12, 196.
 Smith, Captain John (*passim*).
 Smith, Francis, 12.
 Smith, George, 11, 12, 15.
 Smith's Falls, 168.
 Smith's Islands, 161.
 Smith's Isles, 241.
 Soliman, the Magnificent, 25.
 Somer Isles, 234.
 Somers, Sir G., 222, 225, 231, 232, 257.
 Southampton, Earl of, 238.
 Spain, 6, 25, 72, 84, 86, 106, 152,
 238, 240.
 Sparks, M., 145.
 Spelman, Captain H., 230.
 Stafford, Captain, 179.
 Studley, T., 91, 107, 116, 123, 136.
 Stuhlweissenberg (or Alba Regalis),
 44, 45, 46, 52.
 Summer (Somer) Isles (Bermudas),
 258.
 "Susan Constant," 98, 106, 121, 122,
 123.
 Susquehanna, River, 168.
 "Swallow," 223, 224.
 TANGIER Island, 162.
 Tappahannock, 165.
 Tartars, 47, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60.
 Tattersall, 21.
 Tchernavoda, 60.
 Tenerife, 75.
 "Three Turks Heads," Islands, 272.
 Tockwogh, River, 167.
 Todkill, A., 165, 209, 220.
 Tonquedeck, 30.
 Toppahanock (*see Rappahannock*).
 Totneys (Totnes), 248, 256.
 Toulon, 31.
 Toulouse, 30.

Tragbigzanda, Cape, 62, 241, 272.
 Tragbigzanda, Charatza, 61, 62, 63,
 65, 142, 251.
 Transylvania, 27, 46, 47, 53, 68, 69,
 70, 71, 270, 272.
 Tumor, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68.
 Tunis, 26, 35, 244, 245.
 Turbashaw, 48.
 Turks, 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 39, 42,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51,
 54, 55, 56, 59, 65, 68, 81, 86, 273.
 Turk's Heads, 52, 71, 271.
 Tyndall, R., 115, 116.
 Tzekely, Moses (*see Moses, Z.*).

"UNITY," 223, 224.

VARNA, 64.
 Vaughan, Master, 178, 184.
 Verde Islands, Cape, 4.
 Verres Torony, 57.
 "Virginia," pinnace, 230.
 Virginia Company, 90, 91, 92, 94,
 100, 102, 110, 114, 122, 127, 129,
 146, 151, 156, 157, 159, 173, 177,
 178, 182, 189, 190, 195, 213, 220,
 222, 229, 235, 257, 259, 260, 274,
 275.
 Virginia, Old, 175, 182, 183, 184,
 193, 196, 276.
 Virginia, 83, 90, 91, 92, 93, 101, 107,
 108, 111, 115, 122, 126, 130, 137,
 140, 145, 152, 155, 157, 162, 170,
 173, 175, 179, 180, 183, 187, 190,
 191, 213, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220,
 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 230, 233,
 236, 237, 256, 257, 258, 266, 267,
 269, 272, 274, 276.
 Volda, Earl of Meldri or Meldritch
 (*see Meldri*).
 Volday, W., 218.
 Volhynia, 68.

WAINMAN, Sir F., 222.
 Waldo, Captain R., 174, 194.
 Waldo, R., 195, 206.
 Wallachia, 25, 46, 54, 55, 56, 57, 71,
 270.
 Warraskoyack (Weraskoyack), 166,
 195, 196.

Wassador, 178. Watson, Th., 274. Waymouth, Captain G., 221, 237. Weapoco, River (Cyapock), 87. Werowocomoco, 140, 154, 184, 185, 195, 197, 198, 201, 206, 207, 208, 209, 216. West, 207, 225, 226, 229, 230. West Indies, 4, 84, 88, 89, 103, 106, 157, 176, 214, 223, 268. West Point, 202. White, John, 179, 180, 181, 182, 196. Wiffing, R., 9, 206, 207, 209. Wighcocomoco, River, 162. Williams, N., 60. Willoughby by Alford (Lincolnshire), 11, 18. Willoughby d'Eresby, Lord (<i>see also</i> Lindsey), 11, 12, 15, 38, 168, 271.	Willoughby, River, 168. Willoughby Spit, 168 (note). Wingandacoa, 176, 177. Wingfield, Captain E. M., 86, 91, 98, 109, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 143, 144, 150, 151, 155, 178. Winne, Captain P., 175, 194, 195, 201, 217. Wolliston, Captain, 249. Woolwich, 221, 223. Wotton, T., 115, 151. YORK, Duke of, 112. York, River (<i>see</i> Pamunkey). ZAMORANO, Roderigo, 264. Zuyder Zee, 17.
---	---

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